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Murderers and Nonviolent Offenders: A Comparison of Lifestyle, Pampering, and Early Recollections.

Richard Albert Highland

ACCEPTANCE

This dissertation, MURDERERS AND NONVIOLENT OFFENDERS: A COMPARISON OF LIFESTYLE, PAMPERING, AND EARLY RECOLLECTIONS, by RICHARD A. HIGHLAND, was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Dissertation Advisory Committee. It is accepted by the committee members in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Education, Georgia State University.

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ABSTRACT

MURDERERS AND NONVIOLENT OFFENDERS: A COMPARISON
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Alfred Adler outlined a theory of crime that suggests criminals suffer from a lack of social interest and have experienced parental pampering and childhood hyperactivity. He posited that these forces lead to criminality; however, his theory remains largely untested. A review of the criminological literature indicates that most theories of crime lack cognitive elements with adequate operational definitions. A convenience sample of male and female convicted murderers (n = 94) and nonviolent offenders (n = 76) derived from state prisons and parole populations were compared to find if differences in lifestyle attributes, parental pampering, and childhood hyperactivity exist. Prison inmates and parolees completed a demographic and criminal history questionnaire, the BASIS-A Inventory (Wheeler, Kern, & Curlette, 1993), Parental Behavior Questionnaire (Williamson, 1992), Paulhus Deception Scale (Paulhus, 1999), Wender-Utah Rating Scale (Ward, Wender, & Reimherr, 1993), and recorded three early recollections. MANOVA tests on murderer and nonviolent offender data using scales from the BASIS-A Inventory indicates that murderers scored significantly lower ($p < .01$) than nonviolent offenders on the Belonging Social Interest scale of the BASIS-A Inventory. A "W" aggregate profile on the BASIS-A Inventory data among the nonviolent offenders support prior research and validates the efficacy for using that instrument among criminal

populations. MANOVA tests revealed that murderers had more childhood symptoms of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder than nonviolent offenders (p <.05); however, reported parental pampering did not vary by level of violence. Finally, a qualitative analysis of early recollections using the Early Recollections Rating Scale (ERRS; Altman, 1973) reveal moderate correlations between ERRS themes and Belonging Social Interest Going Along, and Being Cautious scales of the BASIS-A Inventory among all participants. Analysis of the data demonstrates partial support for Adler's theory of crime. In particular, violent criminals exhibit less social interest, report higher levels of childhood hyperactivity, and more often report early recollections with themes of passivity and dependency than nonviolent offenders. Data support the usefulness of lifestyle appraisal among criminal populations as a means to improve methods for assessment and treatment of these offenders.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BASIS-A	Basic Adlerian Scales for Interpersonal Success – Adult Form
BC	Being Cautious scale of the BASIS-A Inventory
BSI	Belonging Social Interest scale of the BASIS-A Inventory
ER	Early Recollections
ERRS	Early Recollections Rating Scale
GA	Going Along scale of the BASIS-A Inventory
MMPI	Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory
PBQ	Parental Behavior Questionnaire
PDS	Paulhus Deception Scale
TC	Taking Charge scale of the BASIS-A Inventory
WR	Wanting Recognition scale of the BASIS-A Inventory
WURS	Wender-Utah Rating Scale

CHAPTER 1

MURDER: EXPLANATIONS DERIVED FROM ALFRED ADLER'S THEORY OF INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY

Introduction

Predicting whether an individual will become violent is a difficult task. Researchers have reported correlations between violence and psychopathy (Kosson, Cyterski, Steuerwald, Neumann, & Walker-Matthews, 2002; Wrightsman, 2001); however, it appears that the individual's history of violence is the best predictor of future violence (Meloy, 1998; Olweus, 1979; Polaschek & Reynolds, 2001; Wrightsman, 2001). This is a serious problem particularly in cases of severe violence that results in a person's death. Because the majority of murderers are single homicide offenders with low recidivism rates (Langan & Levin, 2002), history-taking alone is not a reasonable assessment tool. Clinicians who work with criminal or forensic populations need better ways to detect violent people and potential murderers a priori. The aim of this paper is to explore the prevalence of murder in the United States, theories of crime, characteristics of the typical murderer, relevant research on violent crime, and the proposed use of Individual Psychology as an additional way of conceptualizing and adding to the understanding of the criminal mind.

Adler (1930/1976, 1935, 1964a) wrote extensively on crime, but not until recently has his theory been applied to forensic populations. In the case of the particularly violent

crime of murderer, Individual Psychology provides a framework for understanding violence and aiding in its prediction.

Homicide in the United States

Even though the homicide rate in the U.S. declined from 10.2 per 100,000 population in 1980 to 5.6 per 100,000 population in 2005 (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005), this number is extremely high when compared to other countries with similar socioeconomic characteristics. For example, the rates of homicide in Canada and England are approximately 2 per 100,000, and in Germany and Sweden the rate per 100,000 is even less (The Scottish Government, 2005).

The vast majority of murders in the U.S. are committed with a gun by young men aged 18-24 against victims of comparable age and gender. In the U.S. between 1976 and 2002, men were most often the perpetrators (88.6%) and victims (76.4%) in homicides. In addition, men more often killed a friend or acquaintance while women were more likely to kill a spouse or child. Of all murderers during the same period, 45.9% were White, 52.1% Black, and 2.0% other races (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005).

Few homicides involve multiple offenders and even fewer involve multiple victims (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). Regarding serial murderers in 2002, the proportion of murders with multiple victims was 4.9% indicating a low prevalence of this type of murder compared to single homicide crimes. Kraemer, Lord, and Heilbrun (2004) compared serial homicide offenders with single homicide offenders and found that serial killers more often targeted women strangers out of sexual motivation. By comparison, the majority of single homicide offenders killed men and women equally who were known to

them, and most often out of anger. The most common explanations for all types of murder were reported to be sex, profit, emotion, and psychosis.

Yarvis (1995) studied rapist/murderers and found this type of murderer to be particularly predatory because the level of premeditation involved in their crime exceeded a simple murder. It should be kept in mind that higher levels of planning and premeditation are required for serial killings rather than single homicides that may occur without planning, and as a result of an argument. Herein, this author presumes a more generalist view of murder rather than differentiating between serial or single-victim murderers.

Though demographic information provides a snapshot of the typical murderer, it does not help provide an in-depth explanation or motive for the crime. For a greater understanding of murderers a review of criminological theory and psychological aspects of the offender is required.

Theories of Crime

Researchers have proposed many theories in an attempt to explain criminal behavior. A perusal of criminological theories provides greater understanding when examining violent crimes such as murder.

Deterrence Theory

Modern deterrence theories are based on the reforms proposed by classical utilitarian philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham and Cesare Beccaria, who believed that people make a rational choice to obey or disobey the law based on a pain-and-pleasure principle (Akers, 2000). Beccaria suggested that crimes should be measured by the injury done to society to prevent the criminal from doing further injury and to prevent others

from committing like offenses. In addition, he (1764/1998) suggested that the least punishment be administered immediately after the offense, with certainty, and in public.

Bentham (1843/1998) believed that the business of the state was to promote the happiness of society by punishing and rewarding. He also believed that with every criminal act, authorities should consider (a) the act itself, (b) circumstances of the act, (c) intentionality that accompanied the act, and (d) the consciousness, unconsciousness, or false consciousness that accompanied it. Bentham believed that the principle of utility operated within humans by means of pain and pleasure, wherein individuals were thought to calculate perceived punishment versus gain from current or future crimes. Bentham's work was the foundation for modern deterrence theory.

Important aspects of deterrence theory include notions of specific deterrence and general deterrence. Specific deterrence operates under the assumption that a criminal, once caught and appropriately punished, will not choose to repeat the crime. On the other hand, general deterrence is an implied threat to people that have yet to commit crimes and operates when people refrain from crime out of fear of punishment (Akers, 2000). An offshoot of deterrence theory is rational choice theory, which operates by using the principle of cost to benefit. Rational choice theorists believe that people will choose to commit or not commit crimes based upon rational examination of the expected profit versus cost of the act. A problem with this explanation of crime is that criminals may not operate in a consistently rational manner. For instance, in a study of property crimes Tunnell (1990) found that criminals rarely think of the risks involved in their actions but rather think of the anticipated positive consequences of their crimes. In a similar vein, a cross-cultural study on capital punishment found no evidence to support the notion that

this ultimate type of punishment reduces the crime rate in countries that use it or that murders increase after its abolition (Amnesty International, 1989). Despite these criticisms of rational choice theory, it is important to note that deterrence theory, from which rational choice theory was derived, remains an important force in criminology today (Akers, 2000). Overall, deterrence theory suggests that criminals and noncriminals alike gain the same benefits from criminal acts, however, motivations to commit crimes are tempered by one's anticipation of a potential punishment. Given the high level of recidivism among crimes other than murder (Langan & Levin, 2002), one might question the effectiveness of this approach.

Biological Theories

Biology strongly influences behavior and may play a part in the promulgation of criminal acts. For many years, particularly after the publication of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, researchers focused on anatomical features or biological processes as a means to explain criminal behavior. After studying live and dead criminals, Cesare Lombroso (1918/1998) believed that criminal behavior was associated with a number of anatomical features such as small or large heads, distinctive hair or facial features, sloping shoulders, or flat feet. He claimed that sexual offenders and murderers could be differentiated from the general population by possessing features such as full lips and sloping foreheads, respectively (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985).

Following this line of research Goring (1913/1972) attempted to demonstrate the efficacy of identifying criminals via stature and body weight. In addition to looking at anatomical features, Goring measured other data on his subjects, such as age, occupation, familial and ethnic backgrounds, and marriage rates in an attempt to find relationships

between these variables and criminal behavior (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Although these lines of research were designed and implemented for the common good, Nazi physicians continued to use this theory to help support their notions of inferior races. These sadistic physicians performed barbaric experiments on human prisoners that involved castration via X-ray, chemical female sterilization, and freezing experiments in order to find ways of exterminating "inferior" races and assisting their war effort (Mitscherlich & Mielke, 1949). Fortunately, scientific methods and research ethics have dramatically improved since that time.

Research using biological theories to explain crime provide mixed findings. For instance, one study attempted to identify testosterone as a cause for aggressiveness, but only a correlation between that hormone and increased sexual activity was found (Udry, 1988). Raine, Buchsbaum, Stanley, and Lottenberg (1994) reported that murderers have significantly lower glucose metabolism in both lateral and medial prefrontal cortex areas than the controls, and they ruled out head injury as a variable for crime. In 1998, Sakuta and Fukushima found that mass murderers were more likely to have abnormal brain morphology and abnormal EEG readings when compared with simple murderers (one victim) and nonmurderer criminal types. Still other research looked at relationships between brain injury and crime.

Leon-Carrión and Ramos (2003) compared Spanish male inmates convicted of violent crime including kidnapping and murder with nonviolent, white-collar criminals, and found the violent group had suffered childhood head injuries that were left untreated. Turkstra, Jones, and Toler (2003) compared men convicted of domestic violence with a nonviolent matched control group and found that despite both groups' sustaining

childhood head injuries, the offender group sustained more severe injuries and reported having greater problems managing their anger.

Biological theories attempt to explain criminal behavior by focusing on how one's biochemical makeup interacts with the social and physical environment. Even though violence may have correlates to biology, more research needs to be done to corroborate these findings. An advantage of biological theories is that they rely upon the physical sciences to aid in the measurement of variables under study whereas other theories approach the criminal from a social context perspective.

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory suggests that people gravitate towards crime as a means to conform to [criminal] social norms found within the environment. In addition, criminals tend to have greater exposure to other criminals, define crime as desirable, and expect more rewards than punishments for participating in crime (Akers, 1998). Apparently, criminals learn about crime from other criminals and thus become socialized into a criminal milieu. In one report on urban crime, respect is granted for the person that is carrying and willing to use a weapon (Wilson, 1996). Social learning theory may explain how living in a violent environment or within a perceived violent cultural climate (e.g., violent movies, video games, sports) can have a deleterious affect on social norms that normally curtail violent behavior.

Social learning theory provides an understanding of how people in violent environments can act violently, but it apparently fails to provide explanations for people who commit single acts of violence, such as murder, despite having come from a seemingly peaceful childhood environment. Although this theory has been well

researched with delinquents in the areas of cigarette smoking, drug misuse, and sexual coercion (Akers, 2000), it is unlikely to provide an adequate explanation for murder. Because the majority of murders committed in the U. S. are unplanned and are the result of an argument (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005), social learning theory cannot fully explain why the majority of murderers kill their victims. This may be especially true in cases of female murderers who have come from otherwise nonviolent childhoods and have killed in retaliation to spousal abuse. Social learning theory fails to provide an adequate explanation for crimes such as domestic homicide; however, other theories such as social disorganization and anomie theory may provide an alternative explanation.

Social Disorganization and Anomie

Social disorganization and anomie theories point to social order, integration, and stability as a means to achieve conformity and thus less crime within a community. In addition, these theories attempt to show why high rates of crime exist among disadvantaged, lower class, or certain ethnic groups of people (Akers, 2000). Shaw and McKay (1942) found that rates of crime decreased as the distance from inner city neighborhoods increased. Even though the people in the inner cities were thought to be biologically and psychologically similar to rural people, Shaw and McKay believed that the social disorganization found within city life caused people to engage in higher levels of criminal activity. Research on this theory found higher rates of crime among Black people and economically disadvantaged people (Kelling & Coles, 1996; Lafree, Drass, & O'Day, 1992; Wilson, 1996). Although poorer people (among which Blacks are over-represented) have greater material needs than advantaged people and subsequently may have a greater desire to burglarize; social disorganization theory

fails to explain other types of crime, such as spousal abuse. It also fails to take into account other variables, such as disproportionate conviction rates among lower class individuals because of an inability to hire lawyers. Akers (2000) pointed out that inner city life may result in a breakdown of informal social controls that result from social disorganization. He further posited that testing of social disorganization theory is impossible until a better definition of social disorganization becomes available. Other microtheories of social disorganization point to culture as a variable for delinquency.

Merton's (1938) theory of anomie pointed out that culture was a factor in crime. He explained that every person in society was not able to attain culturally desirable items, such as a luxury car or other expensive items, and therefore some turned to crime in order to obtain them. Merton's theory may hold true for some individuals and some types of delinquency, such as property crime; however, the theory leaves much to be desired regarding violent crimes such as murder. Theories of social disorganization fall short in explaining murder in that the majority of motives for murder appear to originate from factors other than material gain. Other models used to explain crime point toward personal self-interest or weak commitment to conformity as factors that promulgate delinquent behavior.

Social Bonding and Control Theories

Hirschi's (1969) social bonding theory uses a four-variable model that suggests attachment, commitment, involvement, and beliefs to help explain criminal behavior. In this theory, attachment to others includes ways that people bond to and admire others in their lives. For Hirschi, attachment involves a sensitivity to others opinions and a desire to identify with a group. Commitment is the personal investment one has in social

conventions that help society run smoothly. A lack of commitment to conformity may lead to violations of social norms and crime. Involvement refers to the amount of time spent in conventional activities with work, recreation, and family. The more one is involved in conventional activities, the less time one has to become bored and the less likely one is to gravitate toward criminal pursuits. Finally, beliefs are seen as a person's approval of social values and norms. If one's belief in the value of a law is weakened, then one would be more likely to violate that law. Although social bonding theory has been supported by some research (Agnew, 1985; Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992; Rankin & Kern, 1994), overall weak relationships have been found among the four variables and criminal activity (Akers, 2000). Weak support of social bonding variables along with the stability of delinquent behavior across location and age led to revision of the theory that included the concept of self-control.

Self-control is based on the notion that some people are not properly socialized as children and may pursue criminal activity as a result. The origin of low self-control is thought to be ineffective parenting, wherein parents fail to supervise closely and make necessary corrections with their children's behaviors (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Gottfredson and Hirschi attempted to create a parsimonious theory of crime that could explain criminal behavior under all conditions; however, they failed to provide a clear operational definition of their concept of self-control. The vagueness of the concept of self-control resulted in difficulty in testing the theory (Akers, 2000).

Given the poorly-defined concept of self-control, still other theories attempt to explain delinquency utilizing a model that incorporates one's self-beliefs and perceptions by others.

Labeling Theory

Labeling theory is derived from the symbolic interactionism theoretical perspective of sociology wherein an individual's self-concept, values, and beliefs exist only in context of society's interaction with the individual and others. If a person is labeled "crazy," "an addict," or "delinquent," then the label itself is the etiological variable in criminal behavior (Akers, 2000). In other words, labels are self-fulfilling prophecies and may influence people to act according to what others think of them. Labeling theory suggests that a criminal's deviant behavior is strongly related to the labeling experience (Akers, 2000). Labels and stigmatization are seen to foster crime under this theory. Labeling theory could explain murder under some circumstances such as gang-related killings. Under this theory, a person would have to identify with being a murderer and then interact within a situation resulting in a killing; however, many murders are unplanned and hence do not fall within the realm of labeling theory.

Conflict Theories

An additional dimension to understanding violent behavior of the offender is conflict theory. Conflict theories view the nature of power between groups that act within a broader society. People are seen as agents that form means of informal social control via family, social groups, and civic and religious affiliations. However, when informal control breaks down, more formal means of control, such as law, must take over (Akers, 2000). Conflict theory suggests that the demise of the family unit and other informal control mechanisms lead to increases in formal control in terms of more laws enacted and a larger criminal justice system. U.S. murder trends by gender indicate that men are three times more likely to kill another man while women are over three times more likely to

kill a man (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). These trends may point to perceived inequalities between gender, resulting in conflict that plays an important role in violence within the family. An argument against conflict theory can be made by looking at murder rates by race. From 1976 to 2002, 86% of White victims were killed by White people while 94% of Black victims were killed by Black people (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005). Akers points out that most crime is intragroup rather than intergroup, thus supporting the notion that few crimes are motivated by class conflict. He further posits that conflict theory can only be applied to a narrow range of crimes that have some political or ideological motivator. Another factor to consider regarding conflict theory involves looking at offenses that are *mala in se* (wrong in themselves) versus *mala prohibita* (actions prohibited by law). Acts prohibited by law are often created and enacted by members of the dominant social class and hence, may be viewed by opponents as unfair and worthy of retaliation as a means to provide greater equity.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theory suggests that patriarchy is as significant a factor in criminal behavior as is race, age, and social class. Gilligan (1982) argues that most societies today have been informed by theories of development derived from men's lives and that women's experiences have been absent, causing a distortion in the true nature of reality in the world. Freda Adler (1975) suggests that the rapid increase of criminal activity and incarceration rates among women are unintended consequences of the women's movement, wherein women fight for full equality and their place in the hierarchy of crime. Other explanations using feminist theory suggest that women face very different experiences in family and social life and may resort to crime as a means to overcome

victimization from sexual, emotional, or physical abuse (Schneider, 2000). To date, little research has supported the notion that patriarchy plays a significant role in criminal behavior among men and women. Akers (2000) argues that better ways of measuring the concept of patriarchy will be needed in order to test feminist theories of crime. It could be that the concept of patriarchy is too vague or broad. Alfred Adler's (1956) early writings described a process he called masculine protest, wherein masculinity was seen as superior to femininity. It could be that power rather than gender per se is a variable for crime. It remains to be seen if research using feminist theory can provide explanations for violence and murder.

General Theory of Violent Social Acts

The theory of violent social acts (Athens, 2005) explains violence as an encounter or social act wherein participants become involved in a dispute over dominance. Violent encounters are divided into one of three types: (a) violent engagements, where physical force is used to settle a dispute; (b) violent skirmishes, where physical violence is almost but not actually used to settle a dispute; and (c) dominance tiffs, where a dispute does not reach the point of a violent skirmish. This theory uses a five-stage process to explain the interaction that occurs between perpetrator and victim. Stage one is role claiming, wherein a prospective superordinate must place himself or herself in the role of superordinate and thereby place the other person in the role of subordinate. Stage two is role rejection, in which the subordinate decides to resist placing himself or herself in the subordinate role as well as choosing to resist actively or passively. The third stage is role sparring, wherein the prospective superordinate and subordinate initiate dominance claiming or rejection strategies. The forth stage of role enforcement involves one or both

persons deciding to use physical force in order to establish superordinate and subordinate status. Finally, stage five of role allocation is accomplished via a major or minor victory, a major or minor defeat, a draw, or no decision (Athens). The theory of violent social acts takes into account race, social class, gender, and age as factors affecting the outcome of a violent interaction. According to Athens, in all violent cases except suicide, the intimate interactions between perpetrators and victims create the outcome , and this outcome is the result over a struggle for dominance. This may help explain why, of known circumstances involving murder, arguments are the most frequently cited reason for homicide (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005).

One can argue that some murders can be explained by a lack of deterrence effect, biological forces, social learning, social bonding, labeling, social conflict, feminist theory, or the theory of violent social acts; however, to date the theoretical assumptions of each of the foregoing theories provide minimal understanding of the cognitive processes of the offender that may also account for other violent acts against society. In fact, theories to date seem to propose that the violent offender in many ways is a person whose behavior is driven by external forces that are outside of one's realm of control.

Psychological Theories

Psychological theories have attempted to provide a more comprehensive view of the criminal mind by focusing on aspects of the criminal's personality, temperament, or level of intelligence. Psychoanalytic theory tends to look deeply into to the minds of criminals in order to unearth aggressive drives. Freud (1930/1961) believed in the notion of *Homo homini lupus* or man-is-a-wolf-to-man. Freud believed that people were cruel by nature, and they merely waited for some provocation in order to release the aggressive

nature upon them. Other psychoanalytic views of crime point out that criminal behavior itself was merely a reflection of unconscious, internal conflict or underdevelopment of the superego because of neglectful or cruel parents (Akers, 2000).

Psychological theories also take into account intelligence level of the criminal. Some research in this area points out that violent criminals have significantly lower verbal and nonverbal intelligence than non-offenders (Farrington, 1991). However, other studies contradict these findings by pointing out that research has consistently found a weak to moderate correlation between criminal behavior and intelligence (Gordon, 1987; Murray, 1976). Still, other researchers have found that other variables such as parental factors, family cohesion, religious affiliation, and exposure to childhood peers are better predictors of delinquency (Glueck & Glueck, 1959).

Psychological theories of crime may also include the assessment of personality constructs. Study of the personality does not attempt to delve into the unconscious but rather examines personality traits among criminal and non-criminal types. This area of study has been tested more rigorously than psychoanalytic methods because personality theorists often use objective inventories that may be subjected to statistical analysis (Akers, 2000).

As mentioned earlier, criminological theories place a low priority on cognitive processes of the criminal and their association with criminal acts. The major thrust of modern counseling and psychology is movement away from theories that focus on unconscious material and a move towards a more constructivist view of personal reality. For the remainder of this article the author focuses upon the use of personality measurement as a method of differentiating criminal offenders from non-offender types.

Personality of the Murderer

The personality of the murderer and the way the individual organizes one's thoughts processes is not yet fully understood. However, researchers have identified several personality types among them. Roebuck (1967) suggested two criminal typologies: (a) acute offenders who apparently are normal and who carry out one or two lifetime crimes but feel guilty about them and (b) chronic offenders who may be mentally unstable for a myriad of reasons. Roebuck suggested that chronic offenders are markedly aggressive, antisocial, impulsive, narcissistic, hedonistic, and typically come from unstable homes wherein deprivation or alternating rejection and overindulgence was the norm.

Lester (1984) found among murderers the presence of two psychological types. Type I Positive murderers, who were nervous, depressed, subjective, cold, impulsive and quiet, and Type I Negative types, who appeared more composed, gay-hearted, objective, appreciative, active, cordial, and more adept at self-mastery. Lester suggested that the Type I Positive murderer resembled Megargee's undercontrolled assaultive type (see below).

In a study comparing Hungarian male murderers and nonviolent controls using the Rorschach projective test, Munnich (1993) found three murderer types: (I) disinhibited-amoral, (II) depressive-inhibited, and (III) anxiety, inhibited, aggression-saturated. Munnich describes Type I as lacking in disciplined thinking and intellect and under control of affective whims that result in projection of aggression on others. Type II murderers were reported to be mentally rigid, calm, and overcontrolled by defense mechanisms. For this murderer, the criminal act was seen as defensive. Type III

murderers, were seen as anxious people able to control behavior in most situations; however, their high level of inhibition causes an increase in intensity of internal tension that results in aggressive behavioral reactions when provoked (Munnich).

An earlier study using the Rorschach test with murderers and burglars revealed murderers were significantly more rigid, conforming, and stable (Kahn, 1959). This information supports Munnichs' depressive-inhibited murderer type and could allude to the fact that some types of murderers may actually have more social interest than others. Social interest is a term used by Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) to explain a person's level of community feeling or connection to others within a societal framework. In a study of prison inmates including murderers, Slaton, Kern, and Curlette (2000) reported that one third of the sample had moderate to high levels of social interest. Had this study compared murderers from other criminal types, it may have provided more useful information regarding interactions of social interest and violence.

Personality tests have been used for many years in the forensic field in an attempt to classify and diagnose criminals. A number of personality tests are available for the forensic practitioner; however, only a few have been used extensively with murderers. One of the most popular prompted-response tests used to classify murderers is the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI; Hathaway & McKinley, 1989). Early studies with male delinquents using the MMPI revealed high scores on the psychopathic deviate, schizophrenia, and mania scales (Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985). Megargee and Bohn (1979) studied young men incarcerated in federal prison over a 2-year period and found that prisoners had elevations on the psychopathic deviate, schizophrenia, and mania scales of the MMPI that were similar to results from an earlier

male delinquency study. Megargee also found another hostile prisoner type that he named type “Charlie.” The type Charlie profiles showed elevations on the psychopathic deviate, schizophrenia, and paranoia scales. This profile suggested a person that was hypersensitive to perceived threats and insults, possessed antisocial traits, and had a hostile demeanor (Craig, 2005). Craig points out that even though the type Charlie profile is associated with violent behavior and poor adjustment, the profile was not specific to murderers.

In another large study of 160 male convicted murderers, Holcomb, Adams, and Ponder (1985) used the MMPI to profile that specific population. A cluster analysis of the data revealed five types of murderers: psychotic, disoriented, normal, hostile, and depressed. The findings from this study help researchers understand characteristics of some murderers but not all. Of the sample, 23% of murderers had MMPI profiles in the normal range.

In another study using the MMPI, Shea and McKee (1996) compared an all male sample of murderers and “other offenders” and found no significant differences between groups. Unfortunately, there was no description of “other offender” types mentioned in the report. Studies using the MMPI with female murderers reveals scores within the normal range (Craig, 2005) that suggest gender may be a confounding variable among murderer studies. Even more curious is a study comparing female murderers and nonviolent offenders that found a negative relationship between level of violence and psychopathic deviate scores (Sutker, Allain, & Geyer, 1978). This finding contradicts similar studies using the MMPI with male offenders and suggests validity problems with

the MMPI across gender. Poorly defined variables in this study provided little information to the reader.

Research on female homicide offenders shows distinct motivations for why women kill. Reports indicate that juvenile female homicide offenders more often murder their infants or children as a reaction to the shame of out-of-wedlock pregnancies, whereas older female homicide offenders more often kill abusive husbands or other family members (Husain, Anasseril, & Harris, 1983; Keeney & Heide, 1994; Kraemer et al., 2004; Steffensmeier & Haynie, 2000). In addition, female murderers often kill in the home or in healthcare settings and are more likely than men to use poisoning or overdoses of medication as the vehicle of death (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2005; Wilson & Hilton, 1998). Female homicide offenders have often faced physical, emotional, or sexual abuse as children or lived under strained structural influences such as intense poverty, being head of household, or income inequality resulting in high levels of frustration for which little help is available (Steffensmeier & Haynie). Some research points out that females may kill as a reaction to becoming involved in a love-triangle in which they believe no other solution exists except to kill their opponent (Cassity, 1941). Women tend to kill as a reaction to an abusive situation where anger or frustration erupted within a background of childhood sexual, physical, or emotional abuse. Most likely, the trauma of past abuse altered the woman's way of perceiving her current environment to the degree that she resorted to kill.

A review of the criminological literature reveals a gap in theory regarding cognitive explanations for criminal behavior. Research in the domain of personality measurement showed mixed results for murderers. MMPI profile "Charlie" seemed to be

able to differentiate offenders from non-offenders among men but results were less promising with women in that they could not give clues as to which criminal might murder (Craig, 2005; Shea & McKee, 1996). Akers (2000) pointed out that tests like the MMPI suffer from tautological problems because questions from the instruments probe behavior that is indicative of the target group. It could be that theories driving the work of personality measurement are lacking and therefore do not measure constructs unique to the criminal mind.

Murderers tend to kill people they know and therefore this type of criminal has a level of intimacy with his or her victim that most likely contributes to the act of killing. It could be that murderers rely upon faulty cognitions learned at an early age and act them out as a means to reconstruct reality or regain balance or security that they experienced as a child. Although several theories of crime point to social forces that may mimic informal control mechanisms learned in the family of origin, they fail to include issues concerning the individual's level of compassion or concern for the welfare of others. In addition, theories of crime take a superficial view of the subjective nature of one's internal struggle for personal power. Finally, criminological theories do address the process of learning such as those found in social learning and self-control theories (Akers, 2000; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990, respectively); however, most criminological theories tend to neglect personality constructs formed within the intimate atmosphere of the family of origin. A more thorough study of murderers might include lifestyle traits suggested by Adler's (1930/1976) Individual Psychology, such as social interest, inferiority, hyperactivity, and parental pampering. Tools for prediction of violence remain scant at best. The current

state of knowledge requires exploration into theories with more explanatory power so that violence can be better understood and prevented.

Adler's Theory of Individual Psychology

Individual Psychology is a holistic theory with an emphasis on cognition formation within the social context. Alfred Adler, the founder of Individual Psychology, moved away from Freud's notions of aggressive and sadistic drives towards a more subjective and holistic model of human psychological development. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that through interaction with parents and others, a child begins to formulate cognitions or schemas that help him or her understand and apply meaning to the world. As a result of this large number of social interactions, the child develops a lifestyle that provides him or her a way to greet future problems and tasks. Elements of this lifestyle include social interest and feelings of inferiority.

Social Interest

Adler saw social interaction as indispensable for successful living. He believed that social interest was an innate potentiality that had to be developed (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). For him, social interest was a person's sense of community-feeling that guided one's actions within the social world. In 1927, he wrote:

> Imagine man alone, and without instrument of culture, in a primitive forest! He would be more inadequate than any other living organism. He has not the speed nor the power of other animals. He has not the teeth of a carnivore, nor the sense of hearing, nor the sharp eyes, which are necessary in the battle for existence. Man needs an extensive apparatus to guarantee his existence. His nutrition, his characteristics, and his style of life demand an intensive program of protection. Now we can understand why a human being can maintain his existence only when he has placed himself under particularly favorable conditions. These favorable conditions have been offered him by the social life. (p. 28)

For Adler, meanings of words and ideas are only useful in a social context. The infant first engages this social context with its mother. Soon thereafter, the father expands the infant's social circle followed by siblings, relatives, and friends ad infinitum. Through this process, the child finds her or his place in the world of people and develops a sense of social interest (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*) or the ability to cooperate with others (Adler, 1931/1992; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler (1931/1992) believed that all failures, including neurotics, psychotics, criminals, drunkards, problem children, suicides, perverts, and prostitutes, were failures because they lacked social interest and, instead, relied upon private meaning or logic. To Adler, social interest was an innate potentiality that had to be consciously developed throughout life. He believed that being socially interested and invested in the welfare of others was highly valued because the resultant behavior could benefit all humankind.

Inferiority and Superiority

Human infants are completely dependent upon their parents or caregivers. Unlike some animals that may have no contact with their parent following conception, the human animal will die without parental attention. Adler (1964b) believed that humans have a natural striving towards superiority or perfection that occurs even before feelings of inferiority arise in childhood. He stated, "There can be no arrest of the stream of evolution as the goal of perfection draws us [humans] on." Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that humans develop and live by teleological fictions that are used as goals in striving away from inferiority towards superiority. Young women and girls are especially susceptible to cultural messages pronouncing their lesser position in relation to men that may lead to exaggerated feelings of inferiority. Parents that pamper

their children inadvertently inhibit the child's mechanisms that help him or her compensate for feelings of inferiority. Pampering may force the child to find alternative or even asocial ways in their strivings for superiority. These strivings for superiority along with ways people go about solving problems in life are in part, what makes up a person's lifestyle.

Style of Life

Perhaps the greatest achievement of Individual Psychology lies in the concept of lifestyle. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) opposed Freud's tripartite model of the personality in favor of one where unity of self was paramount. Drawing from Kant, Adler saw the existence of self as a dynamic interaction between biology, environment, and other beings. Adler suggested that from the age of language development until around age five, the child develops goals that guide her or himself into adulthood. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) describes this process best:

> The first four or five years are enough for the child to complete his specific and arbitrary training. . . . From then on the creative activity of the style of life begins its work. . . . To facilitate this activity personal rules and principles, character traits, and a conception of the world become elaborated. A well-determined schema of apperception is established, and the child's conclusions and actions are directed in full accord with the final ideal end-form to which he aspires. (p. 182)

Each person forms his or her own private logic of the world, which contain assumptions and rules unique to that person (Mosak & Maniacci, 1999). People also have the capacity to develop common sense or perceptions and assumptions of the world that are shared with others. It is common sense that allows interpersonal communication and the development of culture. If each person operated strictly by his or her own private logic without employing broader lifestyle convictions (see below), the world would be in a state of chaos. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) suggested that private logic as an

expression of the lifestyle remains constant so that the individual will show the same line of movement towards his or her goal developed in childhood on into the adult life.

The lifestyle may be viewed in terms of four personal convictions: self-concept, self-ideal, picture of the world, and ethical convictions (Mosak & Maniacci, 1999). Self-concept is a part of the lifestyle that includes perceptions of "I." Examples include descriptions of oneself such as, "I am kind," "I am a good person," or "I am lazy." The self-ideal differs from self-concept in that it is teleological in nature and encompasses a person's hopes, aspirations, and dreams towards which he or she will strive. The self-ideal is a guidepost in the striving for superiority, encompassing beliefs such as, "In order to be somebody, I need to own a big house in a nice neighborhood." One's picture of the world involves views about others, nature, the world, and institutions. This aspect of the lifestyle refers to all things that are "not self" (Mosak & Maniacci). Views of others and the world often entail meanings about life that were formulated as a small child. Internal messages such as, "Real men don't cry," "The world is a dangerous place," and "Most cops are crooked," reveal a great deal about a person's view and behavioral direction. The remaining aspect of the lifestyle includes ethical convictions or one's notions regarding right and wrong. Ethical convictions are learned in early childhood and through interactions with peers and others. They include statements like, "This is the right thing to do" or "Capital punishment is nothing but murder."

The lifestyle is a framework developed in early childhood to assist the child in making sense of the world. Young children develop a plan for interacting within the family of origin and continue to use it throughout life. Biases based upon assumptions made about the self, others, and the world coalesce into a predictable set of attributes

called the lifestyle that guides future behavior in familiar and novel situations (Kern, Wheeler, & Curlette, 1997). A paradox regarding a person's lifestyle is that it may be apparent to others, but in many cases people are not fully aware of the lifestyle strategies that guides their actions. The trained clinician is able to help a client discover his or her lifestyle via a number of methods.

Assessment of Lifestyle

Assessment of the lifestyle involves interaction with the client in order to gain insight into his or her personal convictions. Upon meeting a client, the Adlerian practitioner would ask questions that tap into the client's perception of the problem and personal convictions that focus on a subjective view of self, self-ideal, picture of the world, and ethics. The interview might also include information about the person's family of origin and family constellation because the lifestyle develops in the early years within the family milieu. In addition to a formal interview, the practitioner may use a projective technique, such as early recollections.

Adler (1931/1992) stated that memories will not run counter to one's lifestyle. For him, the patient's earliest recollections (ER) reveal the origin and development of the lifestyle. He believed that by analyzing early recollections, practitioners could judge whether a person was pampered or neglected, to what extent they were trained for cooperation with others, problems they confronted, and how they struggled to solve life problems. Research using early recollections gives rich data, such as pattern of life, self-conception, main interests, and life purpose (Feichtinger, 1943). Forensic research using ERs looked at maladjustment in children (Last & Bruhn, 1983; Pattie & Cornett, 1952), delinquency (Bruhn & Davidow, 1983; Davidow & Bruhn, 1990), and criminal

populations (Elliott, Fakouri, & Hafner, 1993; Grunberg, 1989; Hankoff, 1987; McGreevy, 1998; Quinn, 1973; Rehman & Manzoor, 2003; Reimanis, 1974). Of these studies, only one (Rehman & Manzoor) focused on the early recollections of murderers. They found that memories of murderers contain fewer recollections of significant others and family members and more recollections of personal injuries and unpleasant situations.

Early recollections and lifestyle assessment techniques are important assessment tools for Adlerian practitioners. However, the techniques are time consuming and results may be questionable in that it is one clinician's assessment of the process. To address this problem, researchers have developed objective measures of lifestyle that uses Adler's theory of Individual Psychology.

Several objective instruments can measure lifestyle attributes. Among them are the Social Interest Scale (SIS; Crandall, 1975), Social Interest Index (SII; Greever, Tseng & Freedland, 1973), Langenfeld Inventory of Personality Priorities (LIPP; Langenfeld & Main, 1983), Sulliman Scale of Social Interest (SSSI; Sulliman, 1973), and the BASIS−A Inventory (Wheeler, Kern & Curlette, 1993). The SIS, SII, and SSSI are limited in that they focus on the construct of social interest only. The LIPP is designed to measure personality priorities such as pleasing, achieving, outdoing, detaching, and avoiding. Some controversy exists among Adlerians concerning whether or not lifestyle and personality priorities are the same or separate constructs (Kutchins, Curlette & Kern, 1997). The BASIS-A Inventory appears to be the most comprehensive of these instruments, measuring constructs labeled Belonging Social Interest, Going Along, Taking Charge, Wanting

Recognition, and Being Cautious. To date, the BASIS-A Inventory has not been used to evaluate a sample of convicted murderers.

Adler's theory is comprehensive enough to include assessment and treatment of a variety of human problems and psychopathology. The theory also addresses criminal behavior as it ties into one's striving for superiority from an inferior position.

Individual Psychology and Criminal Behavior

Adler (1930/1976) did not believe that criminal behavior was a result of heredity or environment. He demonstrated this by citing cases wherein some privileged children turned to crime while some who were abused or neglected turned out to be model citizens. Individual Psychology addresses criminal behavior using three parts of Adler's general theory: a lack of social interest, striving for superiority, and aberrant lifestyle development within the family of origin. Adler stated, "Crime is a coward's imitation of heroism. They are striving for a fictitious goal of personal superiority, and they like to believe that they are heroes but this is again a mistaken scheme of apperception, a failure of common sense" (p. 134). The three parts identified above are for heuristic value only, for a high level of integration exists between them within the unity of the person.

Despite Adler's attempt at defining precursors to delinquency and unity of self, he did not specifically add gender into his discussion of crime (Adler, 1935, 1930/1976; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will focus upon variables of delinquency pointed out by Adler.

Criminal's Lack of Social Interest

The integration of individual and group welfare is the cornerstone of Adler's theory (Ferguson, 2000). The social interest that develops within an infant is learned.

There is no evidence to suggest the existence of a drive or instinct of aggression in humans (Montagu, 1991; Sicher & Mosak, 1967); however, a lack of connection to other people can lead to feelings of dissatisfaction, recklessness towards others, and stark constriction of one's operating radius (Bohne, 1928).

Parents who kept their children close and limited their exposure to others contributed to arresting the development of social interest. Mothers who protected their children from the harsh reality of the world by coddling did more harm than good (Simon, 1937). The child was reinforced in his or her behavior by having everything given to him or her, and the loss of social interest resulted in the child's uncaring attitude towards others (Lundin, 1989). Often, the pampered child would have few friends as a result of the pampering (Alexandra Adler, 1939). Adler (1935) called this taking and never giving attitude a "pampered life-style" (p. 9). In another vein, investigators have found neglect to be a factor in delinquency.

Several researchers have found that murderers tend to have histories of childhood deprivation (Cassity, 1941), harsh discipline and cruel parental attitudes (Farrington, 1991), and long-standing alienation from the community and peers (Yarvis, 1994). Research points out that murderers tend to lack remorse, tend to have low empathy and tend to be pathological liars (Harry, 1992b), suggesting increased feelings of inferiority and a lack of social interest. Another study using adult male offenders found a correlation between low social interest and negative offender outcomes (Daugherty, Murphy & Paugh, 2001).

Richardson and Manaster (1997) point out that involvement in community helps a child develop shared moral values and that interrupting such involvement leads to a lack

of meaningfulness in life and subsequent defensive or asocial behaviors. Poor family dynamics that resulted in a lack of social interest can be compounded if the child is not guided through his or her feelings of inferiority. Children of pampering parents may defer personal responsibility and fail to overcome feelings of inferiority as a result of dependence on parental figures. Research indicates that murderers tend to blame external events or deny responsibility for the murder, even after years of incarceration (Harry, 1992a, 1992b). These characteristics suggest that murderers may lack social interest.

Striving for Superiority

Natural strivings of children lead to frustration and feelings of inferiority. Faced with these feelings, children attempt to compensate with more striving towards a goal of superiority (Mosak & Maniacci, 1999). It is the parents' place to encourage the child to become independent and autonomous; however, parents who attempt to win over their child by doing for them place the child's autonomy at peril. It is not the child's lack of autonomy that becomes the problem but rather distortions of the child's personal convictions. The child will come to believe that it is the responsibility of others to take care of him or her. The problem arises when the child realizes that people are not at his or her beck and call.

Every criminal strives to gain victory and to become superior over his or her fellow citizens (Adler, 1930/1976). Criminals believe they are being courageous in the face of problems of living that they perceive as insurmountable. Everyday tasks that to the normal person are mere frustrations become bigger than life, and the criminal chooses the easy way out: He or she avoids responsibility or takes with force or deception. Killing may be a way for the murderer to gain status or act out his or her hostility towards a

"harsh" world. Researchers have found that as children, murderers often had unhappy relationships with fathers (Taylor, 1993), often faced parental rejection (Eron, Huesmann, & Zelli, 1991), and have low self esteem (Science News, 1977). A study of male offenders in Yugoslavia suggested murderers are primarily paranoid, hypersensitive, and uneducated (Vuckovic, Misic-Pavkov, & Doroski, 1997)—all characteristics whose etiology may stem from feelings of inferiority.

High Activity Level

Adler (1930/1976) believed that criminals tended to have higher levels of activity as children than children who did not mature into criminals. Although Adler did not give guidelines to measure this activity, he did suggest a strong relationship between hyperactivity, a lack of social interest, and criminal behavior. Adler observed children who seemed to possess high levels of activity as compared to others. The interaction of high activity and pampered lifestyle was seen as a precursor to delinquency (Adler, 1935). Although not well defined by Adler, his concept of high activity level might be related to a subjective feeling of increased frustration. For instance, a study comparing frustration among brothers raised in same households wherein one brother became a murderer, indicated that murderers experienced higher levels of physical, psychological, and general frustration during childhood than did their non-murdering brothers (Palmer, 1960). Another study (Smith, Kern, Curlette, & Mullis, 2001) using the BASIS-A Inventory to measure Adlerian lifestyle traits among aggressive adolescents described abnormal profiles similar to findings by Slaton et al. (2000), who used the same instrument on an inmate population. Adolescents in the Smith et al. study had been adjudicated for assaultive crimes, such as simple and aggravated battery, simple and

aggravated assault, and terroristic threats. Although high activity is not well defined by Adler, it may be that by measuring aggressiveness, one can move in the direction of Adler's high activity construct.

Conclusion

Adler (1930/1976) stressed the fact that true criminals are not insane; instead, they take great pains in planning their crimes. He believed that other people, such as drunkards or psychotics do commit crimes because of their illnesses, but they are not true criminals. In addition, criminals fail in three tasks of life: friendship, vocation, and personal intimacy.

The lifestyle of the criminal is one in which there is a profound lack of social interest or desire to cooperate with others in society. Criminals harbor massive feelings of inferiority or inadequacy and strive to overcome or compensate for these feelings by exaggerated strivings towards superiority over and above other people. Implicit in Adler's theory is the notion that an inferiority-superiority continuum exists, and that people with stronger inferiority feelings will commit the worst crimes such as murder. If the criminal perceived himself or herself as being pampered or spoiled as a child, then most likely he or she would expect others to provide. If a provider is not available or unwilling to provide, then the criminal takes what he or she justifiably believes to be his or hers. The criminal's private logic guides him or her to take care of self and have no concern for others. Should the criminal be found out and punished, it is of no consequence because it only lends to support his or her own notions of inferiority (Adler, 1930/1976).

Adler's (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) theory of crime proposes that people who lack social interest, were pampered, and suffered from high activity levels in childhood tend to become delinquent. He suggested that one's subjective view of early life experiences lead to development of lifestyle attributes that can increase one's propensity for criminal behavior. Implicit in Adler's theory is the notion that factors of delinquency named above integrate to produce a continuum of criminal behavior from less serious crimes to the ultimate crime of murder. Apparently, the propensity for committing more serious crimes, such as murder, become more likely as levels of social interest decrease in conjunction with rising childhood activity and ever-increasing effects from parental pampering.

The Case of the Unabomber

For years, the Unabomber plagued the intellectual community with letter bombs that left three people dead and 23 others maimed. The Unabomber, Theodore Kaczynski, was the older of two brothers. It is reported that he became unaffectionate and sad after the birth of his brother and that he spent most of his childhood secluded away from other children (Leeper, Carwile, & Huber, 2002). His mother spent most of her time devoted to the education and care of her two sons. As a boy, Kaczynski usually played with his younger brother or at times with his brother's friends, thus avoiding peers his own age. Apparently, Kaczynski was unpopular with peers, could not tolerate noise, and was emotionally deficient (Leeper et al.); all, possible symptoms of childhood hyperactivity (Ward, Wender, & Reimherr, 1993). In college, Kaczynski continued to isolate himself from others, including his family, but after moving to a secluded cabin in Montana, he began his bombings while relying on his family for money (Leeper et al.). Leeper et al.

surmised that Kaczynski felt overshadowed by the Oklahoma City bombing and was compelled to send his 35,000-word manifesto to the *New York Times, Washington Post,* and *Penthouse Magazine.*

The case of the Unabomber illustrates Adler's theory of crime (Leeper et al., 2002). The Unabomber was a pampered child who had been dethroned by the birth of his younger brother. Throughout his childhood, he remained secluded from other children and overly attached to his mother. He was not able to try out new behaviors that would reinforce his ability to cooperate with others and, as a result, developed fear of failure. To compensate for these feelings of inferiority, he took on a strategy that would display his superiority to the world.

Directions for Future Research

Currently, the best predictor for future violent behavior is personal history. Most studies focus on violent actions and behavior a posteriori and hence instruments produced using criminal populations may suffer from tautological errors. Because the personality or lifestyle is usually formed by age 8, it would be beneficial to find an instrument that would measure traits that could be predictive of criminal behavior and administered to young people before problems arise. Interventions at an early age would prevent a great deal of future violence if at risk children could be identified. An instrument of this type could change the role of the criminal justice system from a punishment stance to one of crime prevention.

Murder is a final act and warrants special attention. To date, few researchers have studied murderers using Adler's theory of Individual Psychology. Prior studies have been performed using Adler's theory with criminals but many of the criminal samples have

been poorly defined or did not identify specific violent types. Given that many murders are a result of arguments, it behooves us to find out if certain lifestyle traits interacting with environmental cues, can lead to violence against others. More research is required to address cognitions and belief systems of the murderer that may account for such horrendous acts towards others. In addition, there is a need to find ways to use assessment tools that will provide insight into the criminal mind. This is a challenge in that the murderer or violent offender makes it difficult to assess cognitive schemas or thought processes by exhibiting a defensive attitude or by presenting socially desirable responses on objective instruments (Foley, Hartman, Dunn, Smith, & Goldberg, 2002).

Therefore, studies need to be designed in a way that the murderer is not aware of what part their cognitive thinking plays during assessment and data collection. It would appear that with the advancement of the BASIS-A Inventory as a prompted-response, quantifiable instrument with the criminal population, coupled with a qualitative use of early recollections of the murderer, may provide additional insights into the pervasive and at times unpredictable behavior of the violent offender. Objective measurement of lifestyle in conjunction with qualitative analysis of early recollections may help us find ways to prevent violence. Possibly, this type of research would add a new dimension to criminal profiling tools presently used by the FBI and other law enforcement agencies.

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CHAPTER 2

MURDERERS AND NONVIOLENT OFFENDERS: A COMPARISON OF LIFESTYLE, PAMPERING, AND EARLY RECOLLECTIONS

Murder is often the most intriguing of all crimes. The media realize great fortunes reporting on and analyzing this crime. Indeed, murder is often glamorized by Hollywood movies or used to build a child's ego through video or music productions. In a country of more than 300 million, it is easy to be lulled into the notion than this crime will not happen to one of us. Unfortunately, the school shootings in the 1990s and the recent massacre on the Virginia Polytechnic Institute campus remind us that this is not the case.

In 2005, U.S. residents aged 12 or older experienced approximately 23 million crimes, creating a victimization rate of approximately 176 per 1000 persons. As of 2006, the result of all crime in the United States led to approximately over 7.2 million persons or 3.2% of the population being either incarcerated, paroled, or on probation (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007).

Looking at crime figures from 2006, one can see that approximately 21 out of 1000 persons were victims of violent crimes in that year. In the decade prior to 2006, over half of the increase in state prisoners was due to an increase of convictions for violent offenses. In addition, the Federal Government estimated that 7.1 million persons were in the U.S. correctional system in 2004 and of that number, 169,200 were serving time in state prisons for murder or non-negligent manslaughter (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2007).

From 1982 to 2004, direct expenditures from criminal justice branches have increased enormously (police by 367%, judicial by 450%, corrections by 585%), and there is no end in sight. For many years, the criminal justice system relied upon the notion of deterrence as a means to prevent crime. Incarceration was seen as a deterrent to crime; however, it is a palliative solution to crime that comes at a high cost to society. By continuing to build more and more correctional facilities to house offenders rather than looking at precursors to violent behavior, the criminal justice system turns a blind eye toward exploring the underlying problem. As a result, our present knowledge base regarding violence prediction remains crude at best (Baenninger, 1981; Wrightsman, 2001). This lack of predictive ability may be related to inadequate theoretical constructs that were developed in the past as general explanations for crime.

To date there are a number of theories that attempt to address the etiology of criminal behavior. The most prominent criminological explanations for crime include theories based on biology, deterrence, social learning, social disorganization, self-control, labeling, social conflict, feminism, and psychology. Scrutiny of these theories reveals that cognitive factors of the offender are not well addressed. Of these, only social learning, self-control, and psychological theories emphasize cognitive factors. Social learning theory tends to be closely related to a form of behaviorism wherein concepts such as imitation and differential reinforcement are seen to guide criminal behavior (Akers, 2000). On the other hand, self-control theory (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) points out how low self-control leads to criminal activity, yet the theory does not provide an adequate explanation for the concept of self-control itself (Akers, 2000). Psychological

theories of crime show promise in explaining crime; however, these theories often fail to include social forces that act on an individual throughout life.

Psychological theories of crime traditionally focused on attempts to differentiate criminals from the general population based upon personality traits or cognitive deficits measured by objective instruments or interviews such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI; Hathaway & McKinley, 1989), the California Psychological Inventory (CPI; Gough, 1975), or criminal histories. Studies on murderers using the MMPI reveal profiles indicative of criminality but to date have had little success identifying murderers (Craig, 2005; Shea & McKee, 1996) and poor predictive value regarding violence (Craig, 2005). An early study using the MMPI with murderers revealed five types; however, 23% of that sample were declared "normal" (Holcomb, Adams, & Ponder, 1985), casting doubt on the findings. Still, other studies point out that male murderers score high on the psychopathy scale of the MMPI (Akers, 2000; Craig; Wilson & Herrnstein, 1985), while female murderers score low (Sutker, Allain, & Geyer, 1978), suggesting concerns of validity across gender. Personality tests such as the MMPI and CPI use certain questions that were created to be answered favorably by delinquents and so, when delinquents respond; they naturally score as "delinquent." Akers (2000) states that tests like the MMPI and CPI suffer from tautological logic and therefore may not accurately identify a criminal personality but rather may elucidate a persons' prior history involving the criminal justice system.

Other research with criminals elucidates Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI) or character traits as variables for violence. Studies indicate that criminals have a higher prevalence of TBI (50-75%) than comparison groups (5-15%; Freedman & Hemenway,

2000; Sarapata, Herrmann, & Johnson, 1998). Additionally, other researchers have examined negative character traits, such as lying and lack of empathy. In a qualitative study of 100 incarcerated men, Bruce (1992b) found high scores of pathological lying, lack of remorse and empathy, and failure to accept responsibility for actions. In another study, he found that murderers tend to deny or minimize the seriousness of their crime or attribute their behavior to some external event or provocation (Bruce, 1992a). Though common wisdom might inform us that murderers may not be completely truthful when responding to objective psychological instruments, researchers have often failed to include methods to assess socially desirable responding issues (Foley, Hartman, Dunn, Smith, & Goldberg, 2002). For instance, one would expect parole-eligible murderers or those on appeal to be more guarded than offenders convicted of lesser crimes. To overcome this problem, researchers could better detect socially desirable responding with this population by using an instrument such as the Paulhus Deception Scale (PDS; Paulhus, 1999). Pitfalls identified above illuminate the existence of problems in measurement or theoretical imprecision. A broader psychological theory is needed to assess criminality.

Individual Psychology, Lifestyle, and Murder

The theory of Individual Psychology developed by Alfred Adler (1935) emphasizes an individual's subjective perceptions that motivate one to strive for superiority or move toward social cooperation. Parenting has a profound effect upon the child's personality development or lifestyle. Adler used the term "lifestyle" to describe a view of life that a child develops to guide one's movement in accordance with his or her own way of thinking, feeling, and acting within expected and unexpected contexts (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The lifestyle of a person is developed before age 5 as

the child learns through interaction with parents and others (p. 189). According to Adler, the lifestyle can be expressed in an infinite number of constellations (p. 187); however, a lack of social interest in combination with other factors may lead to delinquent behavior (Adler, 1930/1976).

Adler (1935) suggested that a delinquent lifestyle developed from an interaction of low social interest, high activity, and parental pampering. This discovery was held by Adler as "one of the most significant findings of Individual Psychology" (p. 9). Adler (1930/1976) did not believe criminal behavior was a result of environmental forces or heredity. Additionally, he stated that true criminals are not insane but rather take great pains in planning their crimes. He suggested that true criminals possess overwhelming feelings of inferiority and strive to compensate by attempting to achieve superiority despite negative consequences for all concerned. Adler saw this striving for superiority as a fictional goal, causing a block in the development of a more healthy social interest or community feeling.

For Adler, all criminals lacked the necessary social interest to succeed in the tasks of social life, occupation, and love (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). The connection with others was one of the primary conditions required for the development of social interest in the lifestyle of the child. According to Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956), "social interest is the true and inevitable compensation for all the natural weaknesses of individual human beings" (p. 154). Adler saw social interest as an innate potentiality that could only be developed within a social context. Individuals develop more or less of this trait through educative experiences provided by parents and social life. Adler believed that all people including criminals have some social interest. However, for a person to

commit a crime, he or she must first overcome whatever social interest he or she possesses. Criminals overcome their social interest by developing excuses or justifications for a particular crime (p. 413). For instance, a drug dealer might justify killing another dealer over a turf dispute. In the dealers' mind, he might justify the murder by telling himself, "I told him to stay out of my way; he got himself killed." In a study of criminal offenders, Daugherty, Murphy, and Paugh (2001) found a lack of social interest to be a significant factor in unemployment, new felony arrests, and recidivism. This research supports Adler's theory regarding a relationship between crime and a lack of social interest; however, other variables are most likely at play.

Adler also believed that children lacking in social interest might take on a passive or active stance towards life that could result in delinquency. Children with lower activity levels might feel entitled to receive everything with little effort, while children with high activity levels might take what is not given to them voluntarily (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). For instance, in a society where cleverness and competition are valued, a child might learn that attainment of possessions leads to greater social status. As a result, the child might succumb to a common misinterpretation of reality that suggests it is smarter for her or him to get more while doing less (Sicher & Mosak, 1967). Active children will fight against conventionalities as an attempt to gain by force regardless of consequences (Adler, 1964). In a meta-analysis of 16 studies on aggressive tendencies in boys, Olweus (1979) found a high level of stability of these behaviors beginning in preschool. If Adler was correct concerning high activity levels leading to criminality in the presence of low social interest, then it would stand to reason that parental factors play an important role in this process.

Parents who encourage their child to do things for themselves find that the child will develop a strong sense of self-efficacy that may help overcome feelings of inferiority. However, if parents coddle or pamper their child, then the child may expect others to satisfy his or her needs. The child forms personal convictions that suggest people are to be used for his or her own pleasure or that things should come easily. Parents may also limit exposing their children to others for fear of harm (overprotective-ness), to satisfy their own feelings of inferiority, or by using the child as a pawn in a relationship conflict. Under these conditions, the child does not gain, via trial and error, experiences that instill an emotional connection or empathy with others. Williamson (1992) found lowered self-esteem among men who reported their parents as having been indulgent, over-permissive, and overprotective. In a more recent study, Capron (2004) reported on relationships between narcissism in children and overindulgent and overdomineering parents. The author explained that narcissism is expressed by lack of empathy, a sense of entitlement, interpersonal exploitativeness, and arrogance. These traits may interfere with an individual's ability to form relationships and cooperate with others. These studies seem to support Adler's theory of delinquency.

Murderers have evaded problems they did not feel strong enough to solve. Their massive feelings of inferiority and low social interest caused them to compensate and move towards a superior position at the cost of others. Because they had little concern for fellow humans, they took the high ground, even at the cost of death of another. Murderers may have failed in their attempt to overcome feelings of inferiority. In Western culture, inferiority is equated with femininity while superiority is equated with masculinity. Men, whose masculinity is threatened, may resort to abuse or violence (Nelson, 1991). Men

perpetrate the vast majority of all murders in the United States and perhaps throughout the world. This suggests that perceived feelings of inferiority may create more intense strivings for superiority among men than for women, along with a commensurate anger response. Interestingly, Adler did not specifically address gender in his theory of crime. It could be that in his time, as is currently the case, the majority of all crime, and in particular violent crime, is effected by men. Adler believed that people develop a consistent unity of the self, which he called the lifestyle. He believed the lifestyle formed early in life as the mind changed with alteration of the environment. For Adler, the lifestyle was most apparent when the individual was removed from his natural environment [or comfort zone] and faced unfavorable or difficult situations (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Assessment of Lifestyle

Assessment of the lifestyle includes data obtained from the clinical interview and objective instruments. The clinical interview focuses on the presenting problem, family constellation, and private meanings given to life events. Objective instruments based on Individual Psychology are relatively new to the field. Some traits measured by these instruments include social interest, achieving, perfectionism, entitlement, and wanting recognition to name a few. An instrument based on Adler's theory that is gaining inroads into forensic research is the BASIS-A Inventory (Wheeler, Kern, & Curlette, 1993). The BASIS-A Inventory is a multiscaled objective instrument used to assess aspects of Adler's lifestyle construct and uses a unique means to obtain personality attributes by assessing ones' perceptions of early childhood experiences. Subscales in the BASIS-A Inventory measure lifestyle themes including social interest, conformity, leadership

characteristics, and a need for validation. Emerging research using this instrument with forensic populations has been successful in differentiating the normative sample from inmates and corrections officers. For instance, Slaton (1999) compared BASIS-A Inventory profiles of inmates, corrections officers, and the normative sample and found inmates to be more aggressive, rebellious, influential, assertive, forceful, and more sensitive to nonverbal cues than the other groups. In a related study on the same sample, BASIS-A Inventory profiles displayed a "Tilted W" pattern (scores alternating from high to low) on the five main themes of Belonging Social Interest (BSI), Going Along (GA), Taking Charge (TC), Wanting Recognition (WR), and Being Cautious (BC) (Slaton, Kern, & Curlette, 2000; see Figure 1).

This profile is formed when each of the main scales form a respective point on each of the letter's five points creating a profile in the shape of the letter "W." In the case of the study by Slaton et al. (2000), the upper left point (Belonging Social Interest) of the "W" was found to be lower than the other two upper points of the letter giving the appearance that the "W" is tilting to the left. Even though finding these characteristics among inmates was not surprising, the fact that an objective instrument could differentiate criminals from noncriminals was significant. Subsequently, other researchers using the BASIS-A Inventory found a "W" profile among aggressive adolescents (Smith, Kern, Curlette, & Mullis, 2001) and other criminals and sexual offenders (McGreevy, Newbauer, & Carich, 2001). It turns out that an objective instrument based on Adler's theory may be useful in identifying a criminal lifestyle profile.

Adler believed that a lack of social interest along with high activity levels in childhood could lead to delinquency. As noted above, the BASIS-A Inventory measures

lifestyle attributes such as social interest but does not examine childhood activity per se. Using the Wender-Utah Rating Scale (WURS; Ward, Wender, & Reimherr, 1993) to retroactively gauge symptoms of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) on

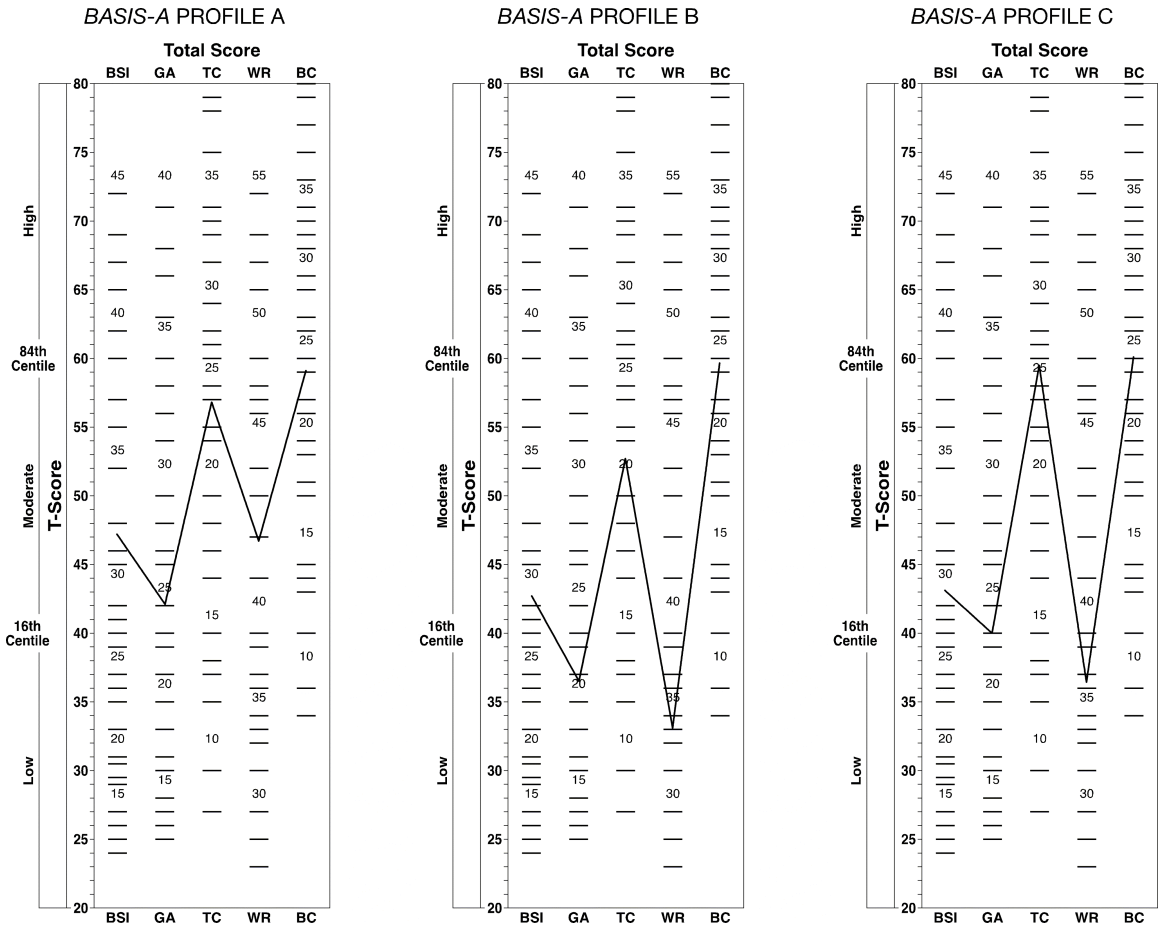

Figure 1. BASIS-A Inventory aggregate profiles for (A) prison inmates (Slaton et al., 2000), (B) adjudicated adolescents (Smith et al., 2001) and (C) adult criminals (McGreevy et al., 2001). One standard error of measurement is 2.3. BSI: Belonging/Social Interest; GA: Going Along; TC: Taking Charge; WR: Wanting Recognition; BC: Being Cautious.

adults, researchers found 78% of an inpatient male sample, admitted for ADHD (n = 69), met criteria for ADHD in childhood on the WURS. Other research using the WURS found criminals convicted of theft to be twice as likely to have suffered from childhood ADHD than their noncriminal controls (Rösler et al., 2004). It could be that the WURS

may a suitable instrument for examining Adler's theory of crime; however, there is still a piece missing to satisfy Adler's theory, that is, Adler's notion that a lack of social interest in the presence of childhood hyperactivity and parental pampering lead to delinquency.

An Adlerian-based instrument developed to measure pampering is the Parental Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ; Williamson, 1992). The PBQ measures four types of parental pampering behavior: over-indulgence, over-control, over-protectiveness, and over-permissiveness. Research using this instrument found a negative correlation between self-esteem and over-indulgence among men and women and negative correlations between self-esteem and over-control, over-protectiveness and indulgence among men only (Williamson, 1992). Despite these preliminary findings, the PBQ holds promise as a means to measure retroactively adult perceptions of childhood pampering, a behavior that Adler believed to be at the root of delinquency. Objective measures such as the PBQ are not the only method to assess the lifestyle. For instance, Adler suggested that early memories or early recollections could aid the clinician in understanding the client.

Individual Psychology posits that early recollections provide structural support for the lifestyle (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Watkins, 1984). The lifestyle is formed in early childhood, remains relatively constant throughout life, and gains structural support from one's early recollections (Watkins, 1984). The early recollections are not random but are retained in a deliberate manner so as to help the individual apply meaning to reality. Adler (1935) believed that early recollections of criminals differed from the average person in that they lacked social interest and provided evidence of high activity and parental pampering in chilhood. In addition, he suggested that early recollections containing themes of threats, accidents, or punishment indicated a tendency to view the

hostile side of life (Adler, 1933). Studies using early recollections have found that participants from lower social classes reveal prominent early recollections themes regarding death, punishment, sexual behavior, aggressive behavior, and decreased parental involvement (Epstein, 1963; Pattie & Cornett, 1952).

Research comparing early recollections of offender and control groups reveals that criminals more often recall themes of illness and injury (Bruhn & Davidow, 1983; Davidow & Bruhn, 1990; Rehman & Manzoor, 2003) and negative emotions and death (Davidow & Bruhn; Elliott, Fakouri, & Hafner, 1993; Hankoff, 1987; McGreevy, 1998; Rehman & Manzoor).

Early recollections from criminals also reveal increased themes of punishment and breaking rules (Bruhn & Davidow, 1983; Davidow & Bruhn, 1990; Elliott et al., 1993). There may well be a link between a pampering parental style and punishment in that the child views the family situation as always going "my way" and thereby experiences consequences that he or she views as unfair. Early recollections containing themes of a victim stance have also been found among criminal populations (Bruhn & Davidow; Davidow & Bruhn; Grunberg, 1989). It may be that early recollections taking a victim stance indicate a pampered child in that the child would see many life situations as "unfair" and hold others responsible for his or her comfort and happiness. Other early recollections themes found among this population such as uncomfortable family situations (Davidow & Bruhn; Elliott et al.) and inferiority (McGreevy, 1998) may indicate family instability or dependence on others, respectively. Only one study to date examined early recollections among convicted murderers and reported frequent themes of unpleasantness, personal injuries, and lacking inclusion of significant family members

(Rehman & Manzoor, 2003). These themes are suggestive of a deficiency in development of social interest. So, early recollections data from criminals seems to be consistent with available objective data. Adler's theory of crime would gain even more support if one could link demographic data, such crime planning, with early recollections themes and objective data from the BASIS-A Inventory, WURS, and PBQ. This would test Adler's theory that criminals lack social interest, experienced childhood hyperactivity, and were pampered as children (Adler, 1935).

Until recently, and despite the longevity of Adler's theory, little research has been done to test the validity of his claim for the causes of delinquency. Using objective data from several instruments and examining early recollections may provide a richer view of the criminal than objective data alone.

The purpose of this study was to explore how variables such as social interest, childhood activity, parental pampering, and feelings of inferiority vary across degree of violence (e.g., murderers and nonviolent offenders). Lifestyle attributes were assessed through a self-report demographic questionnaire, an objective lifestyle inventory, a measure of childhood ADHD, a parental pampering questionnaire, a deception scale, and early recollections.

Hypotheses of Study

The theory of Individual Psychology proposes that criminals differ from the general population among several variables inherent within the individual's lifestyle. This study explores relationships between level of violence, lifestyle attributes, and pampering. Questions were raised regarding social interest, level of childhood activity, pampering, feelings of inferiority, and traumatic brain injuries as possible etiological variables in

the criminal personality. More specifically, hypotheses derived from the literature follow below:

Hypothesis 1

Null hypothesis: There are no differences on main scale mean scores of the BASIS-A Inventory between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will have lower mean scores on the Belonging Social Interest scale and higher mean scores on the Being Cautious scale of the BASIS-A Inventory than will nonviolent offenders.

Hypothesis 2

Research hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will exhibit an aggregate "W" profile on the BASIS-A Inventory.

Hypothesis 3

Null hypothesis: There are no differences on mean subscale scores of the Paulhus Deception Scale between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will have higher mean scores than nonviolent offenders on the Impression Management and Self-Deceptive Enhancement scales of the Paulhus Deception Scale.

Hypothesis 4

Null hypothesis: There are no differences on mean scores of the Wender-Utah Rating Scale (WURS) between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will have higher mean scores on the Wender-Utah Rating Scale than nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: An inverse relationship between the WURS and Belonging Social Interest scale will exist for murderers.

Research hypothesis 3: A positive relationship between the WURS and Being Cautious scale will exist for murderers..

Hypothesis 5

Null hypothesis: There are no differences between murderers and nonviolent offenders regarding reported trouble in school or disciplinary problems prior to the third grade.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will report having had more trouble in school prior to the third grade than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Murderers will report having more disciplinary problems prior to third grade than will nonviolent offenders.

Hypothesis 6

Null hypothesis: There are no differences on total or subscale mean scores of the Parental Behavior Questionnaire between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will have higher mean scores on the Parental Behavior Questionnaire scales than nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Mean scores between murderers and nonviolent offenders on the PBQ and WURS will be inversely related to mean scores on the Belonging Social Interest scale.

Hypothesis 7

Null hypotheses: There are no differences between murderers and nonviolent offenders regarding self-reported pampering by caregivers, receiving better treatment than siblings by a parent, or being favored by a parent as a child.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report being pampered by a caregiver than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report receiving better treatment than siblings by parents.

Research hypothesis 3: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report being favored by a parent.

Hypothesis 8

Null hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will equally report feeling inferior to peers.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will more frequently report feeling *very much less than, slightly less than, equal to, slightly better than,* or *very much better than* their nonviolent counterparts.

Hypothesis 9

Null hypothesis: There is no difference in the number of reported head injuries among murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will more frequently report having had head injuries as children than will nonviolent offenders.

Hypothesis 10

Null hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will report an equal amount of time spent in planning crimes.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will more frequently report having planned crimes than will nonviolent offenders.

Hypothesis 11

Null hypothesis 1: There are no differences among early recollections between murderers and nonviolent offenders and gender on mean response scores from the nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will score lower on all but the Passivity-Activity polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Early recollections between males and females will differ on the ERRS scales.

Hypothesis 12

Research hypothesis: Relationships will exist between both the Belonging Social Interest scale and the Being Cautious scale and the nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale (ERRS). In particular, data will indicate a positive relationship between the Belonging Social Interest scale and ERRS scales and a negative relationship between the Being Cautious scale and ERRS scales.

Method

Male and female convicted murderers and nonviolent offenders were examined using information from a demographic questionnaire, the BASIS-A Inventory, Paulhus Deception Scale, Wender-Utah Rating Scale, Parental Behavior Questionnaire, and Early Recollections Rating Scale. People convicted of either murder or nonviolent crimes, such as drug possession, theft, fraud, or forgery, determined the level of violence in this study.

The levels of violence and gender resulted in four cells of independent variables that were subjected to the dependent measures described above. The data related to the study and hypothesis testing employed classical statistical procedures of descriptive statistics, correlational analysis, chi-square, and MANOVA procedures. Statistical tests were calculated using SPSS software version 15.0.

Participants

Murderers (n = 94) were drawn from the state prison role of all active incarcerated murderers (N = 2553) and parolees (N = 21,396) currently serving sentences in one southeastern U.S. state. The Department of Corrections provided a list of the entire population of convicted murders in the state. Of all prisons in the state, five facilities were selected for convenience of travel and by gender of the prison population. All wardens of the five facilities solicited for research agreed to allow data collection. All inmates convicted of murder (n = 242) at the five respective facilities were contacted via mail with a request for them to participate in research, and they were asked to sign and return the informed consent form by mail if they desired to participate in the study. There was a response rate of 63%, and of that number 127 inmates agreed to participate in the study. Of those inmates who consented to participate, 13 refused, one inmate spoke only Spanish, two were on lockdown, and 17 were working outside the prison on the day of data collection. Inmates received no remuneration for participating in the study.

The murderer group consisted of 34 Black men, 21 Black women, 18 White men, 13 White women, 5 Hispanic men, 1 Hispanic woman, 1 Native American woman, and 1 woman who identified her ethnicity as "other." Murderers ranged in age from 17 to 69 years (M = 40.3, Mdn = 39.0). Educational level of this group ranged from 4 to 18 years

(*M* = 11.4, Mdn = 12.0). Marital status of this group was 49% single, 22% divorced, 9% married, 13% widowed, 3% separated, and 3% partnered. Murderers reported a range of 1 to 42 lifetime convictions (*M* = 4.4 convictions). This group reported total lifetime spent in prison or jail ranging from 2.5 to 32 years (*M* = 11.6 yrs). Fourteen participants from this group were on parole at the time of data collection and information was obtained from them at the parole offices described below in the same fashion as nonviolent offenders.

Nonviolent offenders (n = 76) were solicited for study participation from a larger pool of all parolees in the state (N = 21,396) during report week at three parole offices located near a large southeastern metropolitan area. A convenience sample was selected from the larger pool by finding offices that supervised the largest number of parolees. The chief parole officer distributed study information sheets to all parole officers and requested they ask their parolees to participate. Parolees with a history of any violent type of conviction, were screened out by their respective parole officers and were excluded from the study except those convicted of murder, who were placed in the murderer group. A total of 90 parolees participated in the study. Of that number, 14 were convicted murderers and 76 had been convicted of solely nonviolent charges. No parolees were coerced to participate in the study by the researcher or any corrections staff.

The nonviolent offender group consisted of 47 Black men, 11 Black women, 11 White men, 2 White women, 1 Hispanic man, and 4 men who identified their ethnicities as "other." Nonviolent offenders ranged in age from 20 to 69 years (*M* = 40.8, Mdn = 41.0). Educational level of this group ranged from 8 to 16 years (*M* = 11.9, Mdn = 12.0). Marital status of this group was 55% single, 16% divorced, 16% married, 4 %

widowed, 7% separated, and 3% partnered. The weekly mean income for this group was $316. Nonviolent offenders reported a range of 1 to 35 lifetime convictions (*M* = 5.3 convictions). Of all primary convictions in this group, the majority were for drug possession (41), followed by possession of drugs with intent to distribute (6) or drug trafficking (5). The remaining participants were convicted of the following charges in descending frequency: theft (13), shoplifting (3), burglary (3), forgery (2), account fraud (1), bad check (1), and serious injury with a vehicle [alcohol impaired] (1). This group reported total lifetime spent in prison or jail ranging from 0.75 to 30.00 years (*M* = 5.9 yrs). All participants from the nonviolent offender group were on parole at the time of data collection.

Instruments

Demographic questionnaire. The demographic questionnaire (see Appendix B) is a self-report instrument designed for this study to gather basic participant characteristics, childhood behavior, hyperactivity, and criminal history.

BASIS-A Inventory. The BASIS-A Inventory (Wheeler et al., 1993) is a 65-item, self-report instrument that uses a 5-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Each question begins with the same sentence stem asking, "When I was a child I . . ." This mode of soliciting responses is a unique aspect of this instrument and is designed to encourage more accurate responding (Kern, Wheeler, & Curlette, 1997).

The BASIS-A is comprised of five major scales that are based upon themes derived from Adler's theory of Individual Psychology and include Belonging Social Interest, Going Along, Taking Charge, Wanting Recognition, and Being Cautious (Kern

et al., 1997). In addition, the instrument includes five scales designed to aid in interpretation. These scales are Harshness, Entitlement, Liked by All, Striving for Perfection, and Softness.

Means and standard deviations for each of the scales on the BASIS-A Inventory were based on a normative group of $N = 1{,}083$ participants that included college students, clinical patients, teachers, and members of other occupations. Internal consistency (coefficient alpha reliabilities) of the five major scales ranged from .82 to .87 and test-retest reliabilities were moderate to high (r = .66 to .87; Curlette, Wheeler, & Kern, 1997). The BASIS-A Inventory has been cross-validated with many other instruments that are reported in the technical manual for the instrument (Curlette et al., 1997). Additional support for reliability of the instrument was found by Peluso, Peluso, Buckner, Curlette, & Kern (2004).

Wender-Utah Rating Scale (WURS). The WURS (Ward et al., 1993) is an objective instrument designed to aid clinicians in the retrospective diagnosis of childhood Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) in adults. The version of the WURS administered in this study was comprised of 25 items derived from the original 61-item version of the instrument. Research on the instrument found high correlations between clinical diagnoses of ADHD and the chosen 25 items referred to above (Ward et al., 1993). Respondents on the instrument check one of five choices for each item describing a particular symptom of ADHD. The item choices range from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Research with this instrument found that the 25 selected items were most efficacious in differentiating adult patients with a history of childhood Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder from a non-patient comparison group. In addition, a cutoff score

of 36 or higher correctly identified 96% of adults with ADHD who were otherwise diagnosed with the disorder using clinical diagnostic criteria and information from the participant's parents (Ward et al.). The WURS has been shown to exhibit moderate correlations with the Parents' Rating Scale indicating its efficacy in diagnosing ADHD (Ward et al.). Other research has shown that the WURS can be instrumental in correctly diagnosing ADHD in personality-disordered offenders (Young, Gudjonsson, Ball, & Lam, 2003) and among male prison inmates (Rösler et al., 2004).

Parental Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ). The PBQ is a 7-item self-report instrument that was designed to measure parental pampering behavior using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*never like this*) to 5 (*almost always like this)* (Williamson, 1992). The items are purported to measure four parenting types that include, over-indulgent, over-domineering, overprotective, and over-permissive. The instrument is unpublished, but research has shown its efficacy in measuring low self-esteem in men (Williamson, 1992) and parental pampering as it relates to narcissism in adults (Capron, 2004). Three questions from the original version of the PBQ querying about past physical or sexual abuse and one question asking if parents differed from PBQ descriptions were removed prior to test administration. The remaining four questions queried participants about parental over-indulgence, over-controlling behaviors, over-protectiveness, and over-permissiveness.

Paulhus Deception Scales (PDS). The PDS is a 40-item self-report instrument that uses a 5-point Likert scale ranging in response from (1) *not true* to (5) *very true* (Paulhus, 1999). The PDS is comprised of two scales; Impression Management and Self-Deceptive Enhancement. The Impression Management scale measures socially desirable responding

and faking while the Self-Deceptive Enhancement scale measures unconscious favorability bias closely related to narcissism (Paulhus).

Normative data was obtained from 1,457 individuals derived from the general population, college students, prison entrants, and military recruits. T-scores used in this study were normed on a sample (n = 603) of minimum and maximum-security inmates located in Ontario, Canada. Internal reliability alpha coefficients ranged from .83 to .85 for all four subscales on the instrument. The PDS was cross-validated with several instruments and appears to measure valid constructs (Paulhus, 1999).

Early recollections technique. The early recollections (ER) technique is a unique projective approach for lifestyle assessment. It differs from other projective techniques in that the client is not biased with stimuli, as is the case with the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test. Clark (2002) suggests that administration of ERs begin by asking the individual, "Think back a long time ago when you were little, and try to recall one of your earliest memories, one of the first things that you can remember" (p. 92). Further probes solicit information regarding affect and the most significant part of memory. Clinicians using the ER technique should keep in mind that the memories may be real or created, for the significance of the memory lies in the meaning that the individual attributes to it rather than accuracy of the recollection (Adler, 1937; Buchanan, Kern, & Bell-Dumas, 1991).

Several systems can be used to analyze early recollections through the use of theory driven themes (Altman, 1973; Manaster & Perryman, 1974) or via individual-derived content (Bruhn & Davidow, 1983). For this study, the researcher chose to use Altman's Early Recollections Rating Scale (see Appendix A), as it is the most

parsimonious and appears to measure concepts closely related to Adler's (1935) ideas of criminality, such as social interest, activity, dependence [pampering], and inferiority.

Procedure

Data were collected during individual or small group (up to three) face-to-face sessions with participants. Participants were informed verbally and by consent form regarding the purpose of the study, any benefit or possible risks, and confidentiality. A number of safeguards were taken to protect the participants from potential negative consequences. The university Institutional Review Board and state Department of Corrections reviewed data collection procedures prior to study commencement as a way to protect the participants. No identifying information was obtained or written on any test materials as a means to encourage honest responding and to protect participants from possible harm or legal consequences. Treatment of participants was in accordance with ethical standards of the American Counseling Association (2005).

Packets containing the demographic questionnaire, BASIS-A Inventory, Wender-Utah Rating Scale, Parental Behavior Questionnaire, Paulhus Deception Scale, and early recollections collection form were given to each participant. The order of instrument administration was systematically varied in order to avoid sequence bias. Illiterate participants (7) were assisted as needed. Only parolees were paid a small monetary compensation because of a request by the Department of Corrections. Inmates were interviewed for adverse reactions after data collection and returned to custody with mental health clinician contact information should they suffer ill effects from the procedure. Parolees were also interviewed for ill effects after data collection and were given contact information for free mental health services should they experience ill

effects. Two male parolees cried when recalling early recollections [one from childhood sexual abuse and one from early emotional trauma], and one female inmate refused to complete the early recollections collection form. I stayed with these participants until they felt better and could assure me that they needed no further treatment.

Results

In this section, the research hypotheses are addressed in order of prior presentation. The null and research hypotheses are restated here to assist the reader. Tables and figures are included as a means to provide a parsimonious presentation of complex data.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. Null hypothesis: There are no differences on main scale mean scores of the BASIS-A Inventory between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will have lower mean scores on the Belonging Social Interest scale and higher mean scores on the Being Cautious scale of the BASIS-A Inventory than will nonviolent offenders.

Examination of Table 1 reveals that murderers scored lower than nonviolent offenders on the Belonging Social Interest scale of the BASIS-A Inventory. A one-way between-subjects MANOVA test revealed a significant difference ($p < .01$) between levels of violence on this factor. A trend can be seen wherein murderers scored higher on the Being Cautious scale than did nonviolent offenders; however, these values did not reach the statistical significance level of $\alpha < .05$. No significant differences were found among any other main scales of the BASIS-A Inventory. Data from Table 1 result in rejection of the null hypothesis for the Belonging Social Interest dependent variable. Post

hoc calculations of multivariate effect size measures using Hotelling's T^2 and Mahalanobis distance ($D^2 = .47$) estimated statistical power at approximately .79. Also of note are effect sizes calculated using the mean differences of each BASIS-A scale between murderers and nonviolent offenders divided by their pooled standard deviations. Calculations for Cohen's *d* indicate for the BSI and BC variables, effect sizes that approach medium and small strength (respectively) according to Cohen (1977).

Table 1

Comparison of Mean Scores on BASIS-A Inventory Scales Between Murderers and Nonviolent Offenders

	BSI	GA	TC	WR	BC
Murderers					
M	30.54	27.60	18.54	40.36	20.09
SD	6.84	6.73	6.57	5.45	7.74
Nonviolent Offenders					
M	33.26	27.50	19.30	39.86	18.80
SD	5.81	6.93	6.55	5.06	7.72
F(1,168)	7.597	0.008	0.228	0.386	1.155
p	.006*	.928	.633	.535	.284
d	.428	.015	.115	.095	.167

Note. Murderers ($n = 94$) and nonviolent offenders ($n = 76$). * partial $\eta^2 = .043$. BSI: Belonging Social Interest. GA: Going Along. TC: Taking Charge. WR: Wanting Recognition. BC: Being Cautious.

Hypothesis 2. Research hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will exhibit an aggregate "W" profile on the BASIS-A Inventory.

Figure 2 reveals aggregate BASIS-A Inventory profiles for murderers, nonviolent offenders, and sexual offenders. The nonviolent offender profile exhibits a "W" pattern described earlier and found in prior research on criminals (McGreevy et al., 2001; Slaton

et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2001). Aggregate data from the murderer group did not produce a "W" pattern due to a lower Belonging Social Interest score but rather revealed a pattern reminiscent of a profile found among sexual offenders (McGreevy et al.). The research hypothesis is not supported.

Hypothesis 3. Null hypothesis: There are no differences on mean subscale scores of the Paulhus Deception Scale between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will have higher mean scores than nonviolent offenders on the Impression Management and Self-Deceptive Enhancement scales of the Paulhus Deception Scale.

Mean scores from the Paulhus Deception Scale reveal that murderers scored higher ($M = 6.21$, $SD = 4.04$, $T = 53$) on the Impression Management scale than non-violent offenders ($M = 6.13$, $SD = 3.19$, $T = 53$), however, a one-way between-subjects MANOVA test with level of violence as the independent variable show that this difference was not significant ($F(1, 168) = .020$, $p = .887$). Alternatively, murderers scored lower ($M = 4.83$, $SD = 3.02$, $T = 60$) on the Self-Deceptive Enhancement (SDE) scale than did nonviolent offenders ($M = 5.96$, $SD = 3.92$, $T = 64$). The MANOVA test revealed that the difference in scores on the SDE between murderers and nonviolent offenders was significant ($F(1, 168) = 4.513$, $p = .035$, $\eta_p^2 = .026$). The null hypothesis was rejected for the dependent variable of Self-Deceptive Enhancement.

Hypothesis 4. Null hypothesis: There are no differences on mean scores of the Wender-Utah Rating Scale between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will have higher mean scores on the Wender-Utah Rating Scale than nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: An inverse relationship between the WURS and Belonging Social Interest scale will exist for murderers.

Research hypothesis 3: A positive relationship between the WURS and Being Cautious scale will exist for murderers.

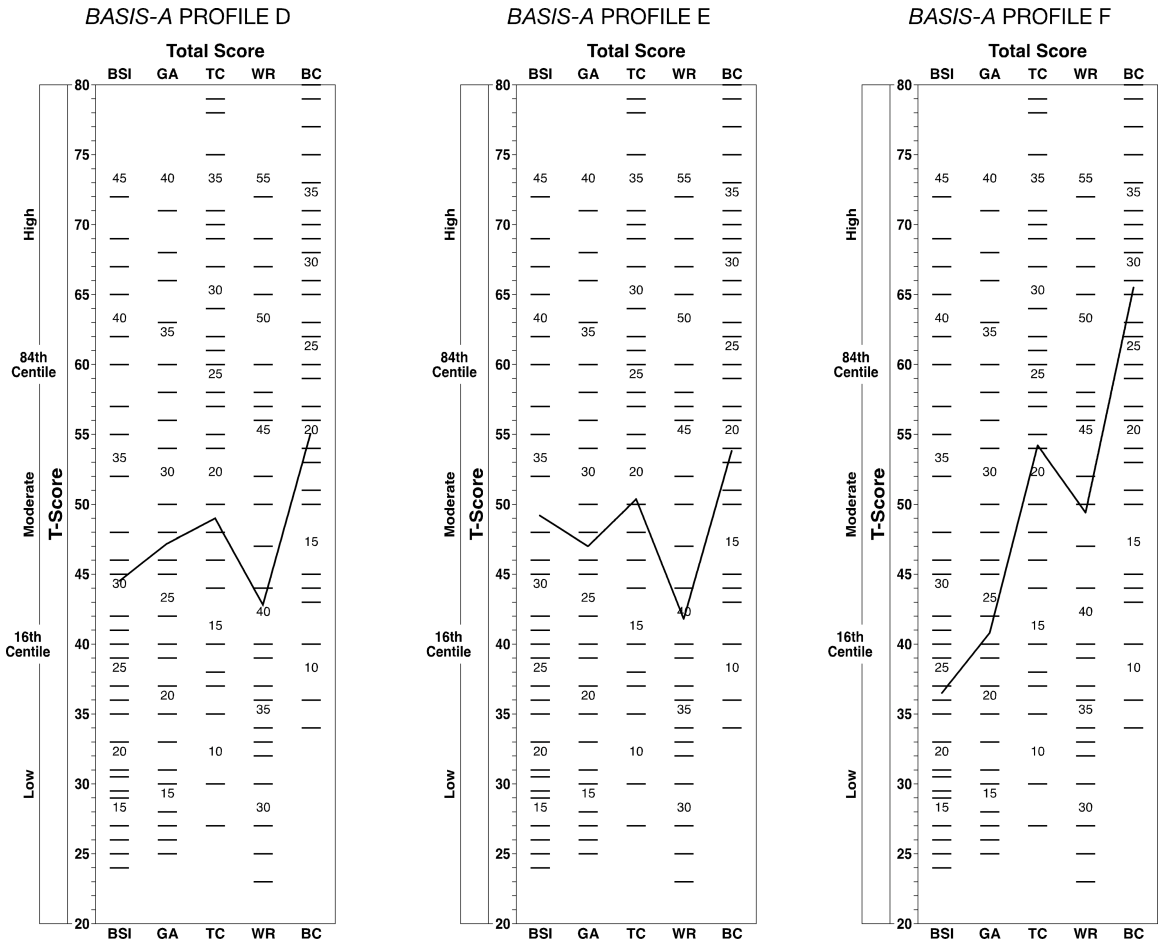

Figure 2. BASIS-A Inventory aggregate profiles for (D) murderers, (E) nonviolent offenders, and (F) sexual offenders identified by McGreevy et al. (2001). One standard error of measurement is 2.3. BSI: Belonging Social Interest; GA: Going Along; TC: Taking Charge; WR: Wanting Recognition; BC: Being Cautious.

Mean scores from the Wender Utah Rating Scale indicate that murderers scored significantly higher (M = 38.34, SD = 20.22) than nonviolent offenders (M = 30.84, SD = 20.69). A one-way between-subjects MANOVA test using level of violence and dependent variables of BASIS-A main themes and WURS scores indicated that the difference in scores on the WURS between murderers and nonviolent offenders was significant ($F(1, 168) = 5.66$, $p = .018$). Correlation tests indicated a moderate negative correlation ($r = -.512$, $p < .001$, two-tailed) between WURS and the Belonging Social Interest scores on the BASIS-A Inventory. Additionally, a positive correlation ($r = .590$, $p < .001$) was found between WURS and Being Cautious scores. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected as the data support the notion that murderers experienced more symptoms of hyperactivity as children than did nonviolent offenders. The data point to an inverse relationship between WURS and Belonging Social Interest scores and a positive relation between WURS and Being Cautious scores.

Hypothesis 5. Overall Null hypothesis: There are no differences between murderers and nonviolent offenders regarding reported trouble in school or disciplinary problems prior to the third grade.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will report having had more trouble in school prior to the third grade than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Murderers will report having more disciplinary problems prior to third grade than will nonviolent offenders.

Murderers and nonviolent offenders either affirmed (n = 52) or denied (n = 118) having trouble with teachers or schoolmates before the third grade. No significant differences were found between murderers and nonviolent offenders who answered in the

affirmative ($X^2 = .077$, $p = .782$) or those who responded in the negative ($X^2 = 2.169$, $p = .141$).

Murderers and nonviolent offenders either affirmed ($n = 29$) or denied ($n = 141$) having disciplinary problems in school before the third grade. No significant differences were found between murderers and nonviolent offenders who answered in the affirmative ($X^2 = .034$, $p = .853$) or those who responded in the negative ($X^2 = 2.560$, $p = .110$). Therefore, null hypothesis 5 is supported by the data.

Hypothesis 6. Null hypothesis: There are no differences on total or subscale scores of the Parental Behavior Questionnaire (PBQ) between murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will have higher mean scores on the Parental Behavior Questionnaire scales than nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Mean scores between murderers and nonviolent offenders on the PBQ and WURS will be inversely related to mean scores on the Belonging Social Interest scale.

A one-way between-subjects MANOVA test of the PBQ indicate that mean subscale and total scores on the PBQ did not significantly differ between murderers and nonviolent offenders (see Table 2). Mean subscale scores from the PBQ do not reach the middle score of 3 (*sometimes like this*). This places the aggregate mean scores for both murderers and nonviolent offenders between the instrument's response categories of 1 (*never like this*) and 3 (*sometimes like this*). The data support Null Hypothesis 5.

Table 2

Comparison of Mean Scores on Parental Behavior Questionnaire between Murderers and Nonviolent Offenders

	Indulgent	Over-Controlling	Over-Protective	Over-Permissive	Total
Murderers					
M	2.11	2.67	2.74	1.63	9.16
SD	1.13	1.36	1.30	1.07	2.72
Nonviolent Offenders					
M	2.13	2.58	2.71	1.67	9.09
SD	1.20	1.45	1.35	1.02	3.06
$F(1)$	0.020	0.177	0.028	0.072	0.023
p	.889	.674	.867	.789	.879

Note. Murderers (n = 94) and nonviolent offenders (n = 76).

Hypothesis 7. Overall Null hypotheses: There are no differences between murderers and nonviolent offenders regarding self-reported pampering by caregivers, receiving better treatment than siblings by a parent, or being favored by a parent as a child.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report being pampered by a caregiver than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report receiving better treatment than siblings by parents.

Research hypothesis 3: Murderers will more frequently than nonviolent offenders report being favored by a parent.

Murderers and nonviolent offenders either affirmed (n = 41) or denied (n = 128) having been pampered or spoiled by a parent as a child. No significant differences were

found between murderers and nonviolent offenders who answered in the affirmative (X^2 = .220, p = .639) or those who responded in the negative (X^2 = 2.000, p = .157).

Murderers and nonviolent offenders either affirmed (n = 45) or denied (n = 125) having been treated better than other children their age by adults. No significant differences were found between murderers and nonviolent offenders who responded in the affirmative (X^2 = 3.756, p = .053) or those who responded in the negative (X^2 = .200, p = .655).

Murderers and nonviolent offenders were asked whether their parents had treated them *much worse, worse, same, better, or much better than* a brother or sister. Out of five possible responses, murderers (20) and nonviolent offenders (8) differed on one response choice. Murderers more often recalled being treated worse than a sibling (X^2 = 5.143, p = .023). Of the remaining response choices, chi-square tests failed to reach statistical significance for *much worse* (X^2 = .400, p = .527), *same* (X^2 = .258, p = .612), *better* (X^2 = 1.087, p = .297), and *much better* (total constant with one variable).

Murderers and nonviolent offenders were asked whether they had been favored over a brother or sister by their mothers or fathers. Participants chose one of five responses by indicating *never, seldom, some of the time, most of the time,* or *all of the time.* Out of five possible responses, murderers (23) and nonviolent offenders (11) differed on one response choice regarding being favored by their fathers. Murderers more often recalled being favored *some of the time* by their fathers than did nonviolent offenders (X^2 = 4.235, p = .040). Of the remaining response choices for being favored by a parent, chi-square tests failed to reach statistical significance for being favored by fathers (X^2 > 2.667, p > .102) or being favored by mothers (X^2 > 2.667, p > .102).

Data regarding parental pampering and preferential treatment by adults over one's peers support the null hypothesis. Data regarding murderer's recollections of being treated differently from a sibling or being favored by a parent run contrary the null hypotheses and therefore the null hypotheses are rejected.

Hypothesis 8. Null hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will uniformly report feeling *equal to* their peers.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will more frequently report feeling *very much less than* or *slightly less than* their nonviolent counterparts.

Murderers and nonviolent offenders were asked whether they felt *very much less than, slightly less than, equal to, slightly better than,* or *very much better than* other kids their age. Out of five possible responses, murderers (25) and nonviolent offenders (12) differed on one response choice. Murderers more often recalled feeling *slightly less than* did nonviolent offenders ($X^2 = 4.568$, $p = .033$). Of the remaining response choices, chi-square tests failed to reach statistical significance for *very much less than* ($X^2 = 1.500$, $p = .221$), *equal to* ($X^2 = .013$, $p = .910$), *slightly better than* ($X^2 = .167$, $p = .683$), and *very much better than* ($X^2 = .667$, $p = .414$). The data lend support to the research hypothesis; therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis 9. Null hypothesis: There is no difference in the number of reported head injuries among murderers and nonviolent offenders.

Murderers and nonviolent offenders either affirmed ($n = 67$) or denied ($n = 103$) having suffered head injuries during childhood. Of those participants who answered in the affirmative, murderers (47) more often reported suffering head injuries as children than did nonviolent offenders (20) ($X^2 = 10.881$, $p = .001$). Of those participants denying

head injuries, no significant differences were found between murderers (47) and nonviolent offenders (56) ($X^2 = .786$, $p = .375$). The data supports the alternative hypothesis; therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected.

Hypothesis 10. Null hypothesis: Murderers and nonviolent offenders will report an equal amount of time spent in planning crimes.

Research hypothesis: Murderers will more frequently report having planned crimes than will nonviolent offenders.

Murderers and nonviolent offenders were asked how often they planned crimes. Participants chose one of five responses by indicating *never, seldom, some of the time, most of the time,* or *all of the time*. Out of five possible responses, murderers (62) and nonviolent offenders (37) differed on one response choice regarding having *never* planned a crime ($X^2 = 6.313$, $p = .012$). Of the remaining response choices, chi-square tests failed to reach statistical significance for *seldom* ($X^2 = 1.800$, $p = .180$), *some of the time* ($X^2 = .529$, $p = .467$), *most of the time* ($X^2 = 1.286$, $p = .257$), and *all of the time* (total constant with one variable). The findings contradict Adler's notion that true criminals spend a great deal of energy in planning crimes. These data do not support the null hypothesis and run counter to the direction of the research hypothesis.

Hypothesis 11. Null hypothesis: There are no differences among early recollections between murderers and nonviolent offenders on mean response scores from nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale.

Research hypothesis 1: Murderers will score lower on all but the Passivity-Activity polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale than will nonviolent offenders.

Research hypothesis 2: Early recollections between males and females will differ on the ERRS scales.

A two-way between-subjects MANOVA test on 507 early recollections (3 per participant: murderers n = 93, nonviolent offenders n = 76) using level of violence and gender as independent variables revealed significant differences between aggregate mean scores on two of the nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale. Early recollections from murderers were rated as more passive and dependent compared to nonviolent offenders whose ERs were rated as more active and portrayed a higher level of independence (see Table 3). Conclusions drawn from these data should be considered in light of correlations obtained from ERRS scores from two independent raters blind to level of violence. Table 4 indicates moderate to high correlations among paired sample scores from participant early recollections. Data shown here regarding early recollections indicate that murderers hold memories in which they perceived their behavior as passive and relied on others for help or approval rather than nonviolent offenders who appear to recall more activity and independence.

The MANOVA test comparing ERRS scores by gender indicated that women scored lower ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .653$; Inferiority) on the Inferiority vs. Self-confidence scale than did men ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .544$): $F(1,165) = 5.62$, $p = .019$. Women also scored lower ($M = 3.57$, $SD = .573$; Dependence) on the Dependence vs. Independence scale than did men ($M = 3.84$, $SD = .688$): $F(1, 165) = 5.30$, $p = .023$.

Four interactions were found between male and female murderers and nonviolent offenders. Female murderers scored lower ($M = 3.50$, $SD = 1.34$; Threatening; frustrating) on the Threatening; Frustrating vs. Friendly; Nurturing scale than did male

murderers (M = 4.24, SD = .903), female nonviolent offenders (M = 4.10, SD = 1.04), and male nonviolent offenders (M = 4.00, SD = 1.15): $F(1, 165) = 4.12$, p = .044. Female murderers also scored lower (M = 3.91, SD = .568; Rejection) on the Rejection vs. Acceptance scale than did male murderers (M = 4.10, SD = .437), female nonviolent

Table 3

Comparisons of Mean Scores Between Murderers and Nonviolent Offenders using the Early Recollections Rating Scale

	Murderers		Nonviolent Offenders			
ERRS Scale	M	SD	M	SD	$F(1, 167)$	p
Withdrawal vs. Gregarious	4.45	0.62	4.61	0.70	2.716	.101
Passivity vs.Activity	4.42	0.87	4.76	1.02	5.654	.019*
Aggression; hostility vs. Benevolence; kindness	4.42	0.54	4.45	0.77	0.129	.720
Mistreated vs. Befriended; treated well	3.96	0.98	4.40	1.12	0.272	.602
Threatening; frustrating vs. Friendly; nurturing	3.77	1.28	3.89	1.35	0.371	.543
Rejection vs. Acceptance	4.09	1.13	4.08	1.20	0.000	.992
Inferiority vs. Self−confidence	4.05	1.03	4.19	1.17	0.680	.411
Depressing vs. Cheerful	4.22	1.33	4.12	1.32	0.206	.651
Dependence vs. Independence	3.94	0.94	4.26	0.99	4.839	.029**

Note. Murderers (n = 93) and nonviolent offenders (n = 76).
* partial η^2 = .033. ** partial η^2 = .028.

offenders (M = 4.28, SD = .483), and male nonviolent offenders (M = 4.08, SD = .523): $F(1, 165) = 4.40$, p = .037. Female murderers scored lower (M = 3.64, SD = .694; Inferiority) on the Inferiority vs. Self-confidence scale than did male murderers (M = 4.12, SD = .513), female nonviolent offenders (M = 3.99, SD = .450), and male nonviolent offenders (M = 4.02, SD = .571): $F(1, 165) = 4.56$, p = .034. Lastly, female murderers scored lower (M = 3.97, SD = 1.06; Depressing) on the Depressing vs. Cheerful scale than did male murderers (M = 4.48, SD = .628), female nonviolent

Table 4

Paired Samples Test and Correlations of Early Recollections Rating Scale Scores from Two Independent Raters

	Correlations	Paired Differences			
ERRS Scale	*r*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
Withdrawal vs. Gregarious	.577*	−0.2657	0.545	−6.333	<.001
Passivity vs. Activity	.713*	−0.4438	0.666	−8.661	<.001
Aggression; hostility vs. Benevolence; kindness	.606*	−0.4965	0.522	−12.358	<.001
Mistreated vs. Befriended; treated well	.804*	0.1160	0.625	2.413	.017
Threatening; frustrating vs. Friendly; nurturing	.882*	0.1586	0.618	3.334	.001
Rejection vs. Acceptance	.611*	−0.1890	0.940	−0.262	.796
Inferiority vs. Self−confidence	.668*	−0.1391	0.826	−2.188	.030
Depressing vs. Cheerful	.864*	0.1284	0.706	2.366	.019
Dependence vs. Independence	.138	−0.3231	0.085	−3.810	<.001

Note. $N = 169$.

offenders ($M = 4.55$, $SD = .680$), and male nonviolent offenders ($M = 4.28$, $SD = 1.00$): $F(1, 165) = 5.53$, $p = .020$.

Hypothesis 12. Research hypothesis: Relationships will exist between both the Belonging Social Interest (BSI) scale and the Being Cautious (BC) scale and the nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale (ERRS). In particular, data will indicate a positive relationship between the BSI scale and ERRS scales and a negative relationship between the BC scale and ERRS scales.

Correlations were performed between the BASIS-A Inventory main scale themes and nine polar scales of the Early Recollections Rating Scale. Table 5 indicates statistically significant low to moderate correlations between Belonging Social Interest, Going Along, and Being Cautious scales and the ERRS polar scales. Only one significant correlation was found between the Wanting Recognition scale and Aggression-Hostility scale of the ERRS; however, the correlation value was low. No significant correlations were found between the ERRS and the Taking Charge scale.

Table 5

Correlations Between BASIS-A Inventory Scores and Early Recollections Rating Scale Themes

	Belonging Social Interest	Going Along	Taking Charge	Wanting Recognition	Being Cautious
Withdrawal vs. Gregarious	.331**	.269**	-.099	.082	-.377**
Passivity vs. Activity	.244**	.140	.004	.073	-.257**
Aggression vs. Benevolence	.291**	.302**	-.141	.178*	-.366**
Mistreated vs. Befriended	.358**	.261**	-.062	.127	-.431**
Threatening vs. Friendly	.380**	.325**	-.075	.124	-.453**
Rejection vs. Acceptance	.346**	.278**	-.053	.119	-.440**
Inferiority vs. Self - confidence	.375**	.225**	-.023	.101	-.430**
Depressing vs. Cheerful	.360**	.273**	-.084	.126	-.435**
Dependence vs. Independence	.397**	.209**	-.027	.106	-.434**

Note. *$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Discussion

Alfred Adler posited that individuals moved toward delinquency and crime due to a lack of social interest resulting from early environmental influences and physiology. Specifically, Adler believed that criminal behavior arose from an interaction between high activity level and early experiences involving parental pampering, and a deficiency in strong social interest or community feeling. Few studies to date have tested Adler's theory of crime and, of those, none have looked at murderers specifically. Prior findings using the BASIS-A Inventory with criminal populations demonstrate the efficacy for this instrument to identify criminal types.

Hypothesis testing using the BASIS-A Inventory was indeed able to show that murderers lack social interest as compared to a group of nonviolent offenders. Calculations of Cohen's *d* for the BSI scale approached a medium effect size according to Cohen (1977). Effect sizes of this strength are not considered unusual for social science research (Stevens, 2002). Of interest is the fact that the majority of nonviolent offenders had been arrested for drug possession, which suggests that any intended harm was more self-directed rather than directed at others. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed all criminals, drug addicts, and alcoholics experienced feelings of inferiority and thus were unable to see the significance of interacting with and helping others. Adler believed that severity of criminal behavior was commensurate with greater feelings of inferiority. In respect to the lifestyle trait of social interest, Adler combined criminals and addicts; however, a further distinction can be made. Data from this study indicate that people who commit crimes against others (i.e., murder) tend to have lower levels of social interest than people who commit crimes where injury is self-directed. Another way to look at the data is through BASIS-A Inventory aggregate profiles.

Aggregate scores on BASIS-A Inventory main themes produce profiles similar to those found in prior research with criminals. As seen in Figure 2, profiles of murderers differ from nonviolent offenders in that murderers scored lower on the Belonging Social Interest scale, distorting the "W" profile as seen in other forensic samples. It appears that aggregate murderer profiles are more similar to those found among sexual offenders in other research (McGreevy et al., 2001). An aggregate nonviolent offender profile exhibits the "W" profile reminiscent of those found in research with more diverse criminal groups (McGreevy et al.; Slaton et al., 2000; Smith et al., 2001). The Slaton et al. study encom-

passed a large sample (n = 255) of inmates and was comprised of approximately 65% nonviolent offenders and only 2% murderers, while data in the current study yielded 45% and 55%, respectively. It appears that the "W" profile is more reflective of nonviolent offenders that includes a large percentage are drug offenders, rather than murderers. BASIS-A Inventory data from the current study reveal that the "W" profile is more closely related to nonviolent criminal types. It should be kept in mind that the statistical tests used to obtain the "W" profiles in this study and in prior research cited above differed (factor analysis vs. cluster analysis, respectively). Recall that naming of groups in cluster analysis is a rather subjective process that calls for a guarded attitude toward this finding. Given that "W" profiles were found using different statistical tests among various studies, it remains to be seen if more researchers are able to replicate this finding. Overall, the BASIS-A Inventory shows promise as a useful instrument within the field of criminology both as a clinical tool to assess offenders and as a means to help offenders gain a better understanding of themselves and, hopefully, refrain from criminal activity. Additionally, the BASIS-A Inventory may help clinicians and corrections officials differentiate those people who may have a propensity for violence.

Another instrument used to assess offenders in this study was the Paulhus Deception Scale. The PDS was used as a means to gauge the participants' truthfulness in responding as well as level of narcissism. Adler believed that personal traits such as dependability, loyalty, frankness, and truthfulness were actually created and maintained by internalized forces originally learned within the community. Furthermore, he believed that these traits prove their value only by being valuable and useful to humankind in general (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956). Adler believed that criminals experience strong

feelings of inferiority, and thus they strive toward a superior position, even to the point of believing themselves heroes. The Self-Deceptive Enhancement (SDE) scale of the PDS measures narcissistic traits and was used to test Adler's theory of crime. Hypothesis testing of this construct revealed that murderers differed from nonviolent offenders on the SDE scale. Participants in the nonviolent offender group scored higher on the SDE scale, indicating that they may be more narcissistic and overconfident than murderers. Nevertheless, findings from the PDS reveal that overall, both murderers and nonviolent offenders exhibit narcissistic traits supporting Adler's ideas about criminal personality.

Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that activity played an important role in the criminal personality and that criminals spend a great deal of time planning crimes. For him, increased activity levels had a positive relationship with a persons' propensity to commit crime. He stated, "At the lowest point of the activity scale is the swindler and pickpocket, at the highest point, the murderer" (p. 166). Adler also pointed out that drug addicts and alcoholics suffer from an interaction of low activity and low social interest. He believed that addicts and alcoholics attack others indirectly or make attacks upon themselves (via substance abuse or dependency) for the purpose of hurting others. Results from the Wender-Utah Rating Scale indicate that Adler's observations of criminal personality were on target. Murderers reported higher levels of childhood activity than did nonviolent offenders. Findings from the data also indicate an inverse relationship between social interest and level of childhood activity. The data appear to support Adler's idea that murderers experienced high childhood activity levels and lacked social interest, which may have moved them towards antisocial behavior. Experience working with criminals reveals boredom to be common treatment issue. Apparently, the

interaction of childhood activity and low social interest led to a lifestyle profile conducive to committing the ultimate crime against another human being.

Adler also believed that criminals spend a great deal of time in planning crimes. The data do not support this notion. Many murders are a result of assaultive actions by people who did not intend to kill their victims. In addition, the high adjudication rates of murderers may account for the fact that murderers often do not get many opportunities to commit crimes once incarcerated.

Adler also suggested parental pampering was a precursor to delinquency. Study participants completed the Parental Behavior Questionnaire, an instrument designed to assess parental pampering retrospectively. It appears that responses from murderers and nonviolent offenders differed little according to aggregate subscale and total mean scores. However, participant responses to queries of parental favoritism, point to the notion that murderers, more so than nonviolent offenders, believed they were favored over siblings at least some of the time. Despite this finding, more murderers than nonviolent offenders indicated that they were treated worse than a sibling, which contradicts reports of parental favoritism. Study data reveal minimal support regarding the positive relationship between pampering and crime. It appears that the pampering construct is difficult to measure. Adler (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956) believed that pampered children were left with exaggerated feelings of inferiority. For him, these feelings often caused children to strive for a superior position, in some cases involving antisocial behavior or delinquency.

When recalling early childhood experiences, murderers more often than non-violent offenders reported feeling less than or inferior to other children their age. This finding shows that feelings of inferiority are factors in the manifestation of delinquency.

While pampering often ends at some point in childhood or at age of majority, the resultant feelings of inferiority may remain for a lifetime, thus interacting with a lack of social interest and other variables to cause criminal behavior for some individuals. One such variable that may come into play is a history of head injuries.

A history of head trauma was most prevalent among murderers and least common among nonviolent offenders, which concurs with prior research. It should be kept in mind that child neglect may confound the head injury variable. A neglectful parent may not adequately supervise their children, and these children might incur higher rates of head injuries. It is possible that a propensity for violence is a result of neglect rather than the head injury itself. Given that the data is of a self-report nature, it is difficult to say to what degree any organic processes may have been affected. The subjective nature of self-report data, particularly involving traumatic events, is related to the selective nature of the memory that strives to align experience with the lifestyle.

Adler suggested that early recollections provide clues to understanding an individual's lifestyle. Analysis of murderers' and nonviolent offenders' early recollections using the Early Recollection Rating Scale (Altman, 1973) indicated that murderers perceived their childhood behavior as more passive and dependent rather than active and independent. Perceptions of oneself being passive may be a construct similar to prior research findings wherein criminals frequently recalled memories of being a victim (Bruhn & Davidow, 1983; Davidow & Grunberg, 1989). Persons who believe themselves to be victims may view many life experiences as unfair and may find ways to retaliate by attacking others or society at large. Murderers held more early recollections with themes of dependence that indicate they rely on others for help or approval rather

than being able to stand on their own two feet. Early recollections with a dependent theme may indicate a stance wherein others are held accountable for ones' happiness and comfort. It could be that early recollections including a combination of passive and dependent themes lead to a higher propensity for violence; especially if the person views life as unfair and others fail in their ability to provide happiness. These lifestyle characteristics obtained from early recollections may be closely related to BASIS-A Inventory main scale themes.

Significant relationships were found between the scales on the ERRS and the Belonging Social Interest, Going Along, and Being Cautious scales of the BASIS-A Inventory. It appears that the ERRS may be a useful instrument for a systematic assessment of early recollections.

Overall, Adler's theory of crime was examined using objective measures of lifestyle, childhood hyperactivity, pampering, and narcissism. This study supports Alfred Adler's conclusions regarding crime and delinquency and strengthens the theory of Individual Psychology.

Limitations of the Study

Inmates and parolees self-selected to participate in the study and therefore the sample may be skewed toward people who have helping or reward seeking qualities. One inmate informed me that my study would be tainted because, "The really bad guys would not participate." Sample bias may be a problem because the inmates or parolees might believe the researcher to be part of the prison system and might therefore fail to respond truthfully. Because of the circumstances of being incarcerated or on parole, participants may have responded in ways that make them look good to the researcher, warden, or

parole officer. Alternatively, it is possible that participants responded in a way that made them appear more distressed as a means to gain more services or responded to the testing materials in a socially desirable way (Heppner, Kivlighan, & Wampold, 1999). Participants may have trouble recalling data relevant to childhood and are less apt to answer questions during face-to-face interviews (Dillman, 2000). In order to circumnavigate some of these problems I informed participants that they would write all responses and no identifying information would be associated with any of the testing materials. Participants were given enough space so that no one including myself could see the participant responding.

Monetary compensation is not without its pitfalls. For instance, nonviolent offenders were paid to participate. Despite efforts to screen out participants with violent histories, it is possible that some people minimized any experiences involving violence in order to obtain compensation.

Other study limitations include the ability to generalize sample findings to a larger population, sample size, and statistical inference and power. Participants in this study were selected from only one city located in the southeastern United States. Bolstad (2004) points out that it is very important that the distribution of the sample be similar to the distribution of the population from which it is derived. In this study, participants were drawn from facilities that were convenient to the researcher rather than selected randomly, which could create selection bias; however, the author knew nothing about any of the facilities prior to data collection except gender of the prison populations. Although attempts were made to maximize statistical power by using an acceptable α level,

appropriate statistical tests, and adequate sample size, there always exists a chance of making Type 1 or Type 2 errors.

Suggestions for Further Research

The author hopes that findings from this study will call other researchers to examine criminal behavior from an Adlerian perspective. The constructivist nature of Adler's theory of Individual Psychology may instill into the field of criminology new ways of understanding the etiology of crime. Once we understand why people commit crime, we will be in a better position to help prevent it.

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APPENDIX A

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS RATING SCALE

(ERRS; Altman, 1973)

Rater # ____ Age at time of ER _____ ER # _____ Participant # ____

	BEHAVIOR							
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	
Withdrawal								Gregarious
Passivity								Activity
Aggression; hostility								Benevolence; kindness
Mistreated								Befriended; treated well
PERCEPTION OF ENVIRONMENT								
Threatening; frustrating								Friendly; nurturing
Rejection								Acceptance
Inferiority								Self-confidence
Depressing								Cheerful
Dependence								Independence

Instructions to Early Recollections Raters

The rating scale for early recollections is a bipolar scale and is divided into two sections.

The first section is concerned with the behavior of the person in the recollection, i.e., is more content oriented.

The second section has to do with affect or how the person sees his or her environment.

Please place a check in the appropriate space. If the category is not in the recollection, check box 4 (average).

Further explanations of the categories are given below:

Withdrawal: shy, lonely; avoids conflict by withdrawing from people
Gregarious: sociable, congenial; approaches people
Passivity: person is passive in his or her behavior
Activity: person is active in his or her behavior
Aggression; hostility: aggression or hostility may be expressed openly or by devious methods or by passive resistance
Benevolence; kindness: treats objects or others in benevolent manner
Mistreated: person relating early recollection is mistreated
Befriended; treated well: person relating early recollection is treated well by others
Threatening; frustrating: sees environment as physically or emotionally threatening or is denied wants by the environment
Friendly; nurturing: sees the environment as friendly or helpful
Rejection: feels rejected by others or animal
Acceptance: feels accepted by others or animal
Inferiority: feels weak, helpless
Self-confidence: feels confidence in self
Depressing*:* objects or people seen as distant, sad, bleak
Cheerful: objects or people seen as pleasant, happy
Dependence: relies on others for help or approval
Independence: being able to stand on one's own feet; feeling okay without relying on others

APPENDIX B

GENERAL INFORMATION

Department of Counseling & Psychological Services
Georgia State University

Please Do Not Write Your Name on This or any Form.
Thank you for being in this study. Please answer all questions below.
All information from you will be kept private.

---

1) GENDER (circle one): **FEMALE MALE**

2) AGE: _____

3) MARITAL STATUS (circle one): **SINGLE MARRIED PARTNERED**
DIVORCED SEPARATED WIDOWED

4) WEEKLY INCOME FROM LAST OR CURRENT JOB (before taxes): $_____

5) RACE (circle one or fill in blank): **BLACK ASIAN WHITE NATIVE AMERICAN**
LATINO/HISPANIC OTHER _____

6) LEGAL STATUS (circle one): **INMATE PAROLE PROBATION**

7) LIST ALL ARRESTS IN YOUR LIFETIME:

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

8) HAVE YOU EVER PLANNED A CRIME? (Please circle one): **YES NO**

9) HIGHEST GRADE of SCHOOLING COMPLETED (Please circle one):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 GED 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 _____

10) WHAT IS YOUR LAST CONVICTION?_____

11) HOW MUCH TIME OUT OF YOUR LIFE HAVE YOU BEEN IN JAIL OR PRISON?

_____ Years _____ Months

12) DID YOU GET IN TROUBLE WITH TEACHERS AND/ OR SCHOOLMATES IN THE FIRST THREE GRADES OF SCHOOL? **YES NO**

13) DID YOU HAVE DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS IN SCHOOL BEFORE 3RD GRADE? (circle one):

YES NO

IF YES, WHAT WERE THEY?_____

14) WHEN YOU WERE A CHILD DID YOU THINK ADULTS TREATED YOU BETTER THAN OTHER CHILDREN YOUR AGE? **YES NO**

15) WERE YOU PAMPERED OR SPOILED AS A CHILD? **YES NO**

IF YES, BY WHOM? _____

16) HAVE YOU HAD COUNSELING, THERAPY, OR MENTAL HEALTH TREATMENT SINCE YOUR LAST CONVICTION? **YES NO**

17) DID YOU EVER HAVE A HEAD INJURY OR FALL AND GET KNOCKED OUT AS A CHILD? **YES NO**

IF YES, WERE YOU TREATED BY A DOCTOR? **YES NO**

18) WERE YOU AN ONLY CHILD? (Please circle one): **YES NO**

IF YES, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 24 ON NEXT PAGE.

19) LIST NUMBER OF BROTHERS _____ NUMBER OF SISTERS _____

20) PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR NUMBER IN THE BIRTH ORDER OF ALL BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 _____

21) DID YOUR PARENTS TREAT YOU WORSE OR BETTER THAN YOUR BROTHERS OR SISTERS? (PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER ON THE SCALE):

MUCH WORSE WORSE SAME BETTER MUCH BETTER

1----------2----------3----------4----------5

22) HOW OFTEN DID YOUR MOTHER FAVOR YOU OVER A BROTHER OR SISTER? (PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER ON THE SCALE):

NEVER SELDOM SOME OF THE TIME MOST OF THE TIME ALL OF THE TIME

1----------2----------3----------4----------5

23) HOW OFTEN DID YOUR FATHER FAVOR YOU OVER A BROTHER OR SISTER? (PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER ON THE SCALE):

NEVER SELDOM SOME OF THE TIME MOST OF THE TIME ALL OF THE TIME

1----------2----------3----------4----------5

24) WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU FAILED IN DURING YOUR LIFE?

_____

_____

DID YOU THINK THE FAILURE WAS YOUR FAULT? (PLEASE CIRCLE ONE): **YES** **NO**

25) WHAT HAVE YOU BEEN MOST SUCCESSUL AT IN YOUR LIFE?

_____

_____

26) HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU PLANNED A CRIME BEFORE ACTUALLY DOING IT? (PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER ON THE SCALE):

NEVER SELDOM SOME OF THE TIME MOST OF THE TIME ALL OF THE TIME

1----------2----------3----------4----------5

27) AS A CHILD, DID YOU FEEL LIKE YOU WERE LESS THAN OR BETTER THAN OTHER KIDS YOUR AGE? (PLEASE CIRCLE A NUMBER ON THE SCALE):

VERY MUCH LESS THAN SLIGHTLY LESS THAN EQUAL TO SLIGHTLY BETTER THAN VERY MUCH BETTER THAN

1----------2----------3----------4----------5

THANK YOU FOR BEING IN THIS STUDY. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE VERY HELPFUL.